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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXXVII

AAJ-4982

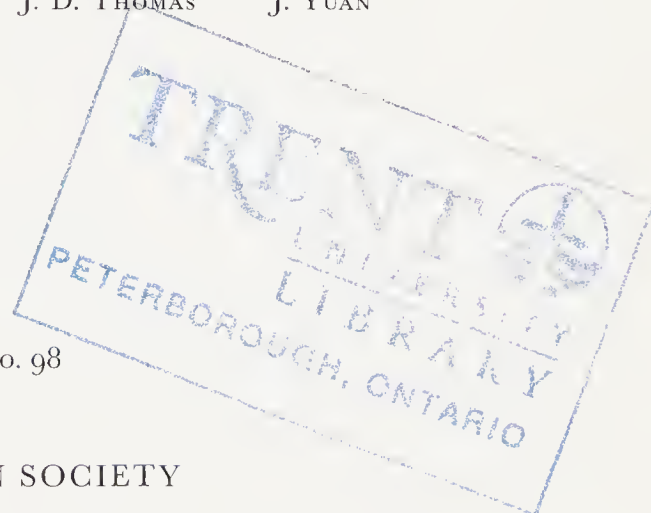
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI VOLUME LXXVII

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Graeco-Roman Memoirs, No. 98

PUBLISHED BY
 THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
 3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

WITH THE SUPPORT OF
 THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH COUNCIL
 AND
 THE BRITISH ACADEMY

2011

TYPESET BY
THE STINGRAY OFFICE, MANCHESTER
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
CHARLESWORTH PRESS, WAKEFIELD
AND PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
(REGISTERED CHARITY NO. 212384)
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

Graeco-Roman Memoirs

ISSN 0306-9222

ISBN 978 0 85698 204 0

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PREFACE

Section I offers the edition of a single text (**5101**), which is probably the earliest extant copy of the Septuagint Psalms and of considerable textual interest; several readings correspond more closely to the Masoretic Text than Rahlfs's edition, and some of them are unique. Another interesting feature is the Tetragrammaton used for the divine name.

Section II collects fragments of five hexameter poems. **5102** preserves tantalizing fragments of a Hellenistic mythological poem with echoes of Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius; its largest fragment depicts Hermes and perhaps Artemis in a pastoral context. If correctly attributed to Dionysius' *Bassarica* (a precursor of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*), **5103** furnishes a new *terminus ante quem* for this obscure but influential poet and suggests that he was active earlier than the second century AD. The hand of this papyrus has been identified with that of XXXVII **2818** = *SH* 940, presumably from the same poem. **5104** and **5105** present further examples of later hexameter narrative, both prominently featuring Aphrodite. In **5105**, much the more extensive and surprising of the two, the goddess of love descends to earth to fetch her protégée, none other than Poppaea Sabina, who must reluctantly bid farewell to her husband Nero and take her place among the stars. The continued use of hexameters for purposes other than narrative is exemplified by **5106**, a strikingly formulated exhortation to moral purity, grounded in part on the expectation of an afterlife.

Section III publishes a miscellany of documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods. **5111**, a puzzling petition of temple personnel, contains several interesting realia. **5114** transmits a new Severan constitution that concerns intervals of relief between successive appointments to *honores*. **5116** offers the earliest documentary record for Saloninus, *nobilissimus* Caesar. **5118** is a fragmentary report of proceedings held at a sanctuary of the Nile god. **5119** attests a man from Eleutheropolis in Palestine resident in a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome. **5123** provides a rare instance of the Apion estate purchasing wine from two of its *coloni adscripticii* ahead of the harvest, suggesting that the economic relations between the estate and these labourers of controversial status were more complex than is traditionally allowed.

Some of the texts edited in sections II and III stem from doctoral theses (A. Benaïssa, Oxford; D. Montserrat, R. Hatzilambrou, UCL; J. Yuan, UCLA). Dr Benaïssa revised his editions in the first year of a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship, and records his gratitude to the Academy for its sponsorship. Dr Colomo's work on **5101** was funded by a grant from the Oxford University Grinfield Septuagint Fund.

Professor Parsons advised on earlier drafts of items in section II; more advanced drafts were read by Professor G. B. D'Alessio, Dr E. Magnelli, and Dr M. L. West, whose help we gratefully acknowledge. Professor Thomas read and commented on many of the editions in section III. This volume has benefited immensely from the dedicated input of Dr R.-L. Chang and Dr W. B. Henry, whose combination of learning, skill and efficiency has proved beyond praise. Dr Henry further indexed section II, and co-ordinated the correction of the proofs. Dr M. Langellotti indexed section III.

As always, we are grateful to Dr Jeffrey Dean for his expert copy-editing and typesetting, and to The Charlesworth Group for rapid production; and we remain indebted to the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy for their very generous support.

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AB = A. Benaissa

LB = L. Berkes

ANC = A. N. Carvounis

RLC = R.-L. Chang

DC = D. Colomo

NG = N. Gonis

RH = R. Hatzilambrou

WBH = W. B. Henry

ThK = Th. Kruse

NL = N. Lewis

CL = C. Luz

DM = D. Montserrat

PS = P. Schubert

JDT = J. D. Thomas

JY = J. Yuan

LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF PLATES

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NUMBERS AND PLATES

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$a\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[$a\beta\gamma$]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$) represents the symbol $\overline{\sigma}$, $c\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $c\tau\rho\varsigma$
[[$a\beta\gamma$]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
` $a\beta\gamma$ '	The letters are added above the line
< $a\beta\gamma$ >	The letters are added by the editor
{ $a\beta\gamma$ }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. no. 9, 2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

I. SEPTUAGINT

5101. LXX, PSALMS XXVI 9–14, XLIV 4–8, XLVII 13–15, XLVIII 6–21,
XLIX 2–16, LXIII 6 – LXIV 5

A and C: 27 3B.41/J(1–2)c; A 6.1 × 5.1 cm First/second century
B: 20 3B.36/J(4)b; D: 27 3B.38/N(1)b Rahlfs 2227 Plates II–III

Four stretches of text (designated as A–D) giving parts of six columns of a papyrus roll. The back is blank. The preserved height in section C is 17.2 cm. This figure includes upper margin preserved to a depth of 1.4 cm and lower preserved to a depth of 1.2 cm; if an addition to C iii by a second hand is discounted, the figure for the lower margin rises to 1.5 cm. The intercolumnium between C ii and iii will have been 1 cm wide at its narrowest. C iii will have had 37 (originally 36?) lines, C ii 39 (or possibly 38).

The text is written in a small informal round hand of a common type with some ligatures and cursive features: we find for example ϵ with cap and cross-stroke made without lifting the pen (e.g. D 11, 12), and Δ joined to the following letter by its second oblique (C iii 17), while \mathfrak{B} (e.g. C iii 20) is regularly made in three movements: upright, horizontal base projecting to the right, and the loops added as a single sinusoid. The awkwardness of the script recalls that of other literary and documentary hands of the earlier Roman period, but it is of uncertain value as a dating criterion, since it may merely indicate the scribe's lack of proficiency. Comparable dated hands include those of XLV **3264** (80–81), XLI **2957** (91), and XXXVI **2754** (111), though none of these is particularly close.

This is probably the earliest extant copy of the Septuagint Psalms. The list in Rahlfs–Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* i.1 [hereafter Ra], p. 489, has at its head two copies assigned to the second century, the scrap P. Monts./II inv. 2 (Ra 2160, p. 247), and P. Ant. I 7 (Ra 2077, pp. 283–4), which was assigned by its editor to the second century, but by Turner to the second/third.

The name of God is represented by the Tetragrammaton, written in archaic Hebrew characters, at A 12 and 14 and D 14. The practice is recorded by Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos* 2.2 (PG 12.1104B), and attested in some Septuagint manuscripts (A 12 n.). This, along with the absence of the Christian *nomina sacra* and the choice of roll rather than codex form, may be thought to suggest a Jewish origin for the roll: see C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (1979) 74–8; C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (1983) 38–40; L. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts* (2006) 5–6, 17–20, 55–9 (on possible Christian rolls). The informality of the hand, suggesting a copy made for private use, need not be an obstacle to this hypothesis: cf. L **3522**, Job (Ra 857, p. 304), papyrus roll,

1st cent.; LXV **4443**, Esther (Ra 996, pp. 305–6), papyrus roll, 1st/2nd cent. See in general E. J. Epp, ‘The Jews and the Jewish Community in Oxyrhynchus: Socio-Religious Context for the New Testament Papyri’, in T. J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts* (2006) 13–52.

Other theological papyri found at about the same time as the present manuscript are LXIV **4404** (inv. 27 3B.38/N(1)a; late second cent.) and LXIV **4401** (inv. 27 3B.41/C(1–3)b; third cent.), both from papyrus codices of Matthew; but there is no particular reason to suppose that they are associated with it in any way.

An abbreviation ($\tau\epsilon^\lambda$ for $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) is found in a superscription at D 13. Organic diaereses occur at C ii 23, 27, iii 18, and perhaps iii 14, and D 5 (the last three word-initial), inorganic at D 17. A paragraphus was probably used at the end of a psalm at D 13; the following psalm’s superscription is indented. The traditional division into stichs is reflected by the line-divisions to some extent. When a stich ends in mid-line, this is sometimes but not consistently indicated by a dicolon. The dicolon is not attested at line end. Other Psalms manuscripts including the dicolon are PUG I 1 (Ra 2157, p. 129; 3rd/4th cent., papyrus codex); P. Duke inv. 740 (Ra 2198, pp. 110–11; early 4th cent., papyrus codex); P. Bodm. XXIV (Ra 2110, pp. 58–61; 3rd/4th cent., papyrus codex); XI **1352** (Ra 954, p. 299; early 4th cent., parchment codex); PSI VIII 980 (Ra 2055, pp. 118–19; 3rd/4th cent., papyrus codex); LXXIII **4931** (5th cent., miniature papyrus codex). In all these, the dicolon is accompanied by a blank space, which usually follows. (In PSI 980 the dicolon is both preceded and followed by blank space.) Cf. E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (2004) 139–40, 311–13.

The papyrus is of considerable textual interest. It has several readings that correspond more closely to the Masoretic Text (MT) than does Rahlfs’s edition, some of which are unique: see especially C ii 25, 36, iii 10, 19, and 22–3 (also B 6, C ii 16, 23 (?), D 13, 15, 16). But it also has unique and interesting readings that do not correspond to MT: see C iii 20, 27, D 14 (also C ii 16, 28, iii 29). Albert Pietersma offers the following assessment:

On balance nothing impresses me more about **5101** than its early date and its thoroughly Septuagintal character, notwithstanding its sole recensional trait, namely, the replacement of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ by the tetragram in palaeo-Hebrew script. (Thus when $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is marked for case with an article, typically due to the Septuagint’s isomorphic representation of the source text, the grammatical role of the tetragram is clear, but when it is not so marked, the role of tetragram becomes unclear or ambiguous.)

For the rest, one finds fewer than a dozen sporadic alignments with the Masoretic Text against Rahlfs’ edition, uniquely or in the company of other witnesses, and a somewhat higher number of variants that deviate from both Rahlfs and the MT. Notable for its support of **5101** in both

categories is 2110 (P. Bodmer XXIV), a 3rd/4th-century papyrus well known for its substantial contribution to the pristine text of the Greek Psalter. Some of the alignments of **5101** with the MT are certainly original but just how many remains to be assessed. The *nomina sacra* are absent, indicative *inter alia* of its Jewish rather than Christian provenance. Not surprising is that, in the one pertinent instance (lxiv 4) in which Rahlfs adopts a conjecture by Grabe against the extant evidence, **5101** sides with all other Septuagint manuscripts.

The pre-Origenian date of **5101** makes it possible that Origen used this text as one of his sources for readings closer to the Hebrew than the majority Septuagint tradition, to be adopted in his fifth column.

For a general account of the textual criticism of the Old Greek Psalter, see Pietersma in A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast (eds.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* (2000) 12–32.

There are occasional itacistic spellings and mechanical copying errors, for which the commentary may be consulted.

The text has been collated with A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* (1967²). R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum graecum* iii (1823), and P. de Lagarde, *Psalterii graeci quinquagena prima* (1892), have also been used. Origen's Hexapla is cited from F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* ii (1875), with further information taken from G. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli reliquiae, Pars prima: Codex rescriptus* (1958). The early Psalms manuscripts not available to Rahlfs overlapping **5101** (cited by their numbers in Rahlfs–Fraenkel's *Verzeichnis*) are: Cairo, Coptic Museum inv. 3855+3857+3859+3865 (Ra 2015, pp. 165–6; van Haelst 137), Ps xxxii 10–11, xlvi 10–xlvii 2, xlviii 12–20, ciii 25³–35 in Greek, 5th/6th or 10th/11th cent., Greek–Coptic parchment codex; P. Chester Beatty XIV (Ra 2150, pp. 105–6), Ps ii 1–8, xxvi 1–6, 8–14, xxxi 8–11, 4th cent., papyrus codex; P. Bodmer XXIV (Ra 2110, pp. 58–61; van Haelst 118), Ps xvii 45² – cxviii 44² with lacunae, 2nd/3rd cent., papyrus codex; Bodl. MS Gr. bibl. g. 5 (P) (Ra 2082, pp. 282–3; van Haelst 151), Ps xlviii 20¹–21², xlix 1², 3¹, 17¹–21², 2nd/3rd cent., papyrus codex. In addition, Ps xlv 4–5¹ is transmitted by P. Prag. I 3 (Ra 1250, pp. 332–3), 10th/11th cent., liturgical roll on paper; Ps xlix 1–2 by P. Vindob. G 29435 (Ra 2215, pp. 414–15), 5th/6th cent., papyrus sheet including other OT quotations; Ps xlix 1²–7 by P. Ross.-Georg. I 1 (Ra 2069, p. 369; van Haelst 152), 6th cent., papyrus sheet; Ps xlix 3–7 by T. Mil. Vogl. inv. 3 (Ra 2223, p. 233), 6th cent., wooden tablet (unpublished); Ps xlix 1²–3¹ is transmitted as part of a hymn to the Virgin Mary in P. Brit. Mus. EA 74114 (Ra pp. 227–8), 10th/11th cent., from a parchment codex probably for liturgical use; and P. Vindob. G 27290 A (Ra 2085, pp. 412–13), 6th cent., papyrus sheet, probably an amulet, includes a quotation of the opening of Ps lxiv 2.

The original work on sections A and C is due to D. Colomo, who acknowledges

valuable comments from R. A. Coles, J. R. Rea, and J. D. Thomas. At the last moment, W. B. Henry identified and contributed editions of the remaining fragments, and undertook the revision of the whole. L. Cuppi gave helpful advice. The edition has been greatly improved by the comments and criticisms of A. Pietersma.

In the transcription, sublinear dots are applied in the usual way to uncertainly read letters both in Greek and in Hebrew. The supplements printed are largely *exempli gratia*, and textual points on which the new evidence sheds no light are not discussed. Variant readings are not generally discussed where the text agrees with Rahlfs's edition.

A

.].[.].[.].[.].[
	[βοηθος μου γενου μη] αποσκορακισης με	xxvi 9
	[και μη ενκαταλιπης με ο] θεος ο ζωτηρ μο[v]	
	[οτι ο πατηρ μου και η μητηρ μο]ν ενκατ[ελιπον με]	10
5	[νομοθετησον με ΑΥΑΥ ε]ν τη οδω ς[ου]	11
	[και οδηγησον με εν τριβω] ευθια	
	[ενεκα των εχθρων μου μ]η παραδωσ με	11-12
	[εις ψυχας θλιβοντων μ]ε	
	[οτι επανεστησαν μοι μαρ]τυρες αδικοι	
10	[και εψευσατο] η α[δικια ε]αυτη	
	[πιστευω του ι]διν τα αγαθα vac.?	13
	[εν γη ζωντων υπο]μενοντων τον ΑΥ[ΑΥ]	13-14
	[ανδριζου και κρ]αταιουσθω η καρδια ς[ου]	
	[και υπομεινο]ν τ[ον] ΑΥΑΥ	
.		

1 Tiny traces at line-level.

4 ενκατ[ελιπον]: l. εγκατελιπον.

After 4, 10² ο δε κυριος προσελαβετο με has dropped out through *homoioteleuton* (cf. C iii 34 n.).

5 On the Tetragrammaton, see 12 n. below.

ε]ν τη οδω: a well-attested variant (U L' 2030 (εν supplied) 2110) for τη οδω as printed by Rahlfs.

6 ευθια: l. ευθεια.

7 ενεκα των εχθρων μου: combined with 12¹ as here in SyHe and 1219; a separate stich in T.

11 ι]διν: l. ι]δειν.

τα αγαθα vac.?: κυριου follows in other copies as in Rahlfs's text. Perhaps a space was left blank for the Tetragrammaton to be inserted later, as in P. Fouad inv. 266 (see 12 n.), though the Tetragrammaton at D 14 at least fits its space well enough to suggest that it may have been written together with the rest of the text. Another possibility is that an earlier copy had left a space of this kind, and that our roll is descended from that copy. The text without κυριου makes sense, and a scribe might well have forgotten to insert the Tetragrammaton. It is also possible that traces have been lost through abrasion as elsewhere in this scrap.

12 υπο]μενοντων: υπομεινον is the usual reading as in Rahlfs's text: U (υπομένω) and Sa¹ (υπομενώ) offer variants. The reading here may be due to the influence of the preceding ζωντων.

Of the Tetragrammaton only the final *he* is preserved complete here, but a better preserved specimen is found at D 14. Palaeo-Hebrew characters are used. See in general Tov, *Scribal Practices* 218, 220, 238–46. This type of Tetragrammaton is preserved in the following Greek manuscripts: (a) P. Vindob. G 39777 (Ra p. 428; van Haelst 167; Ps lxix–lxxx in Symmachus' translation (= LXX Ps lxviii–lxxx); parchment roll, 3rd/4th cent., from the Fayum or Heracleopolite); (b) 8HevXIIgr. (Ra 943, pp. 156–60; Prophets; leather roll, late 1st cent. BC/early 1st cent., Dead Sea); (c) T-S 12.184, 20.50 (Ra pp. 50–51; van Haelst 74; parts of Kings I and II in Aquila's translation (= LXX Reg. III and IV); parchment codex, 5th/6th cent., Cairo, Geniza); (d) L 3522 (Ra 857, p. 304; Job; papyrus roll, 1st cent.). Tov, *Scribal Practices* 365 fig. 27 (cf. 241) shows an example similar in shape to that found in this manuscript, but the scribe of our roll has assimilated the initial *yod* to the *he* by giving it a third bar, suggesting that he was not familiar with palaeo-Hebrew letters. It is possible but by no means guaranteed that the preserved instances of the Tetragrammaton in this papyrus were written together with the Greek text.

14 The text is uncertain at the start. The first trace does not particularly suggest the upper right-hand corner of נ, and τ[ον] seems on the short side.

B

]. . [
	κ]αι τω καλ[λει σου]	xliv 4
	[και εντεινον και κατευοδου και] βασιλευε [	5
	[ενεκεν αληθιας και πραυτητος κ]αι δικαι[ο]ς[υνης]	
5	[και οδηγησει σε θαυμαστωσ η δε]ξια [ς]ου [
	[τα βελη σου ηκονημενα : λαοι] υποκατω σο[υ]	6
	[περουνται εν καρδια των εχθρων] τ[ο]υ βας[ι]λεωσ]	
	[ο θρονος σου ο θεος εις τον αιωνα του αιωνοσ]	7
	[ραβδος ευθυτητος η ραβδος της βας]ιλε[ιας σου]	
10	[ηγαπησας δικαιοσυνην και εμισσα]ς α[νομιαν]	8
	

Line 1 is apparently the first of a column, but it is possible that one or more further lines have been lost through abrasion.

1 Abraded traces.

2 The line will have held more than Rahlfs's 4² (τη ωραιστητι σου και τω καλλει σου) alone, but since the manuscripts are divided, the first σου being absent from R', it does not seem worth while to supply the line-beginning from Rahlfs.

4 αληθιας seems better suited to the space available than αληθειας.

6 δυνατε given after ηκονημενα by Rahlfs with most sources, but GaHi (and 27 156 1037, on which see Rahlfs 32) lack it in agreement with MT, and there is no space for it here.

8 Surface abraded.

To judge from Rahlfs's text, the remainder of this column and one further column are missing between this fragment and C col. i.

]. [
] [
	[διηγησασθε εν τοις πυργ]οις αυ[τ]η[ς θεσθε]	xlvi 13-14
	[τας καρδιας υμων εις την] δυναμιν [αυτης]	
5	[και καταδιελεσθε τας βαρ]εις αυτης	
	[οπως αν διηγησθησθε εις γ]ενεαν ε[τεραν]	
	[οτι ουτος εστιν ο θεος ο θεος ημων]υ[	15

It has not been possible to fix the precise level of this fragment in relation to what follows by examination of the cross-fibres. To judge from Rahlfs's text, approximately 11 lines are missing after line 7.

2 The traces are confused, perhaps as a result of correction, but do not appear to suit the expected [κυκλωσατε Cιων και περι]λαβε[τε αυτην, though the third is comparable to the **β** at C ii 1.

7 Of]N[, the top of the second upright and traces of the upper edge of the oblique.

	[ινα τι φ]οβουμαι εν ημερα [π]ονηρα	xlvi 6
	[η ανομ]ια της πτερνης [μου κυ]κλωσ[ει με]	
	[οι πεπο]ιθοτες επι τη [δυναμει αυτων]	7
	[και επι τ]ω πληθι του πλ[ο]υ[του αυτων]	
5	[καυχω]μενοι : αδε[λφος ου λυτρουται λυτρωσε]	7-8
	[ται ανθ]ρωπος : ου δ[ωσει τω θεω εξιλας]	
	[μα αυτο]υ : και την [τιμην της λυτρωσεως της ψυχης αυτου]	8-9
	[και εκοπι]αξεν [ε]ι[ς τον αιωνα και ζησεται εις τελος]	10
	[οτι ουκ οψεται καταφθοραν]	
10	[οταν ιδη σοφους αποθνησκοντας επι το]	11
	[αυτο αφρων και ανους απ]ολου[νται και]	
	[καταλειψουσιν αλλοτριοις το]υ πλουτ[ο]υ α[υτων]	
	[και οι ταφοι αυτων οικiai α]υτων εις τον αι[ων]α	12
	[σκηνωματα αυτων ει]ς γενεαν και γενεα[ν]	
15	[επεκαλεσαντο ονομ]α αυτων επι των γα[ιω]υ	
	[και ανθρωπος εν] τιμη . . . σοφ[.]υειται	13
	[συνεβληθη τοις κ]την[ε]ς[ιν] τοι[ς] αν[ο]η[το]ις και ω[μοι]ωθη αυ[το]ις	
	[αυτη η οδος αυτω]υ σκανδαλον α[ν]το[ι]ς[ιν]	14
	[και μετα ταυτα ε]ν τω στοματι αυτων	
20	[ευδοκησο]υς[ιν] διαψαλμα	

	[ως προβα]τ[α] εν [αδ]η εθεντο θανατος πο[ιμαι]	15
	[νει αυτου]ς και κα[τ]ακυριευσου	
	[ειν αυτω]ν οι ευθεις [ει]ς τ[ο π]ροϋ	
	[και η βο]ηθια αυτω[ν] π[αλαι]ωθη[σεται]	
25	[εν τω] αδη της δοξ[ης αυτο]υ	
	[πλην ο θ]εος λυτρωσ[εται τη]ν ψυχ[ην μου]	16
	[εκ χειρο]ς αιδου οταν λ[αμβανη με διαψαλμα]	
	[. 7]ον εαν πλουτ[ησῃ ανθρωπος]	17
	[και οταν π]ληθυνθη η δ[οξα του οικου αυτου]	
30	[οτι ουκ ε]ν τω αποθνησκ[ειν]	18
	[αυτον λ]ημψεται τα πα[ντα ουδε συν]	
	[καταβησε]ται αυτ[ω] η δοξ[α αυτου οτι η ψυχη]	18-19
	[αυτου εν τ]η ζωη αυτο[υ ευλογηθησεται]	
	[εξομολογη]σεται σοι οτ[αν αγαθυνῃς αυτω εις]	19-20
35	[ελευσεται εω]ς γενας π[ατερων αυτου]	
	[εως αιωνος ο]υκ οψοντ[αι φως]	
	[ανθρωπος εν τι]μη [	21

1-8 The level of the scrap giving these lines is fixed by the cross-fibres.

4 πληθι: l. πληθει.

7 αυτο]υ restored from Rahlfs's text: εαυτο]υ as in L' 1219 does not seem to suit the space.

8 εκοπι]ασειν restored as in other Septuagint manuscripts, Theodotion according to 1175 (Vat. gr. 754; cf. Mercati xxiv), and Origen's fifth column and Quinta as given by 1098. Rahlfs adopts Grabe's conjecture εκοπασειν (in agreement with MT), and either reading could be made to suit the space, but since the papyrus fails to confirm Grabe's conjecture at lxiv 4 (D 17 below), there is some reason to suppose that it had the same as other manuscripts here too.

9-10 10² occupied two lines as in R'.

10-12 The supplements printed and line-breaks are purely *exempli gratia*. Possibly the και restored from Rahlfs's text at the end of 11 was omitted (with La^G).

15 ονομ]α restored as in 2110 on grounds of spacing: 2013 has το ονομα, other copies τα ονοματα (so Rahlfs).

16 The αυτων printed by Rahlfs after γαιων at the end of 12³ was apparently absent as in 2110 1098 (not Ga) L Tht^p in agreement with MT. This αυτων was present in Theodotion but not in Origen's fifth column, Aquila, Symmachus, or Quinta according to the evidence of 1175 and 1098 (cf. Mercati xxiv).

The expected ων ου συνηκεν cannot be reconciled with the traces after τιμη. Rahlfs does not record any variants; Quinta as attested by 1098 had ουκ αυλιθησεται.

17 συνεβληθη restored on grounds of space with 2110 and Quinta according to 1098. Other copies have παρασυν- (as printed by Rahlfs) or παρεσυν-. παρεβληθη is also possible, as in Aquila according to 1098, and in the recurrence of this stich at 21² in 2110 2013' (not 2018).

21 ο[corrected *currente calamo*?

23 [ει]ς as in 2015 2110 156 1098 (and Quinta as attested by 1098), possibly an attempt to

render the MT precisely (cf. Rahlfs's apparatus), but easily explained as a dittography. Rahlfs does not print it.

π]ροῖ: l. πρωῖ.

24 βο]ηθια: l. βοηθεια.

π[αλαι]ωθη[σεται]: the trace given as π does not particularly suggest that letter but is abraded.

25 της δοξ[ης αυτο]υ: other copies and Origen's fifth column give εκ της δοξης αυτων (by itself, as in Rahlfs's text, or as part of a longer version). Symmachus read απο της οικησεως της εντιμου αυτου (or -ων), while Aquila had εκ κατοικητηριου αυτου (or -ων), according to Mercati 89. The singular αυτο]υ corresponds to MT, but εκ της δοξης corresponds better to MT than της δοξης alone, and without the preposition, the Greek, already difficult, becomes unintelligible.

27 αδου would be the expected spelling: cf. 21 (suppl.), 25.

28 Rahlfs gives μη φοβου οταν πλουτηση κτλ. μη φοβου] would fit the space but leaves what follows unaccounted for.

35 γενας: l. γενεας.

36 οψοντ[αι]: though Rahlfs and the majority LXX tradition read the singular, the plural is attested by the MT as well as by Aquila, Symmachus (βλεποντες), Theodotion, Sexta, and The Seventy (see Field). Quinta, however, is said to have read οψεται.

After 37, there is space for two further lines (if it is assumed that the final line of col. iii is a marginal addition), enough for the conclusion of the Psalm. 21² may then (but need not) have been split over two lines, although the identical 13² was written in one (17).

col. iii

	εκ ζε[ιων η ευ]πρεπ[εια της ωραιότητος αυτου]	xlix 2
	ο θεος εμ[φαν]ως ηξε[ι]	
	ο θε[ο]ς η[μω]ν και ου [παρασιωπησεται]	3
	πυρ εν[ωπ]ιον αυτο]υ καυθησεται]	
5	και κυκ[λω αυτ]ου κα[ταιγικς σφοδρα]	
	πρ[οσκαλεσ]εται τον ου[ρανον ανω και την γην]	4
	[δια]κριναι τον λαον α[υτου]	
	συναγετε αυτω του[ς οσιους αυτου]	5
	τους διαθιθεμενους [την διαθηκην αυτου]	
10	επι θυσια και [α]γαγγελ[ουσιν]	5-6
	[οι] ουρανοι την δικαι[οσυνην αυτου]	
	[ο]τ[ι] θε[ος] κριτης ε[στιν διαψαλμα]	
	[ακουσo]ν λαο[ς μου και λ]αλη[σω σοι]	7
	Ἰσρα[ηλ και διαμα]ρτυρ[ο]υμαι σοι	
15	ο θεος ο θε[ος σ]ου εἰμι ε[γω]	
	ουκ εν ταις [θυ]σιας σ[ου] ελεγχσω σε	8
	τα δε ολοκαυτωμα σου ενωπιον [μου]	
	ἵσιν δια παντος [:] ο[υ δε]ξομαι εκ του οικου]	8-9
	σου μοσχον : ο[υδε εκ τω]ν ποιμν[ιων σου]	

20	προβατα οτι εμα [εστι]ν παντ[α τα θηρια] του δρυμου κτην[η ε]ν τοις ορε[σιω] και βρες εγγων παντα τα πετε[ινα των] ορων : κα[ι] ωραιοτης αγρου μετ [εμου] [ε]στιν : εαν πειναςω ου μη κοι ει[πω]	9-10 10-11 11-12
25	[ε]μη γαρ ε[σ]τιν η οικουμενη κ[α]ι [το πληρω] [μ]α αυτης : μη φαγομ[αι] κρεα [ταυρων] [η α]μα αρνων πιομα[ι] [θυσο]ν τω θεω θυσιαν αινεσ[εωσ] [και] αποδος τω θεω τας ευχας ς[ου]	12-13 14
30	[και] επικαλεσ[α]ι [με] εν ημερα θ[λιψεωσ] [και εξελο]υμαι σε και δοξασεις με διαψαλμα [τω δε αμα]ρτωλω ε[ι]πεν ο θεο[ς] [ινα τι συ δι]ηγη τα δικα[ι]ω[μα]τ[α μου] [και αναλα]μβαν[εις την διαθηκην μου]	15 16

Above the preserved line 1, space for three lines, enough for verse 1 including the superscription written as a separate line.

1 ζε[ιων]: for the spelling with ε, cf. D 14.

4 εν[ωπι]ον with L'; other copies have εναντιον (printed by Rahlfs). For this common pair of variants, cf. A. Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter* (1978) 40-43, who favours ενωπιον in this place (43).

8 συναγετε αυτω: so effectively 2110 (συναγεται εαυτω). Other copies give συναγαγετε αυτω (printed by Rahlfs).

9 διαθιθεμενους: l. διατιθεμενους.

10 θυσια: so MT. Other Greek manuscripts (and Rahlfs) have the plural θυσιας (θυσιαις 156).

12 The traces given as θ are not certainly assigned. It is probable but not certain that the article given in Rahlfs's text was not present with θεος in this copy. 2110 B A have no article here.

14 διαμα[ρτυρ]ο[υ]μαι with 2110 2013 L^{pa} T Tht^p He^{*-S^c} 1219', *testificabor* La Ga: διαμαρτυρομαι 2069 (-ω-) B' 2052 R LTht^p A (so Rahlfs).

16 εν: other copies (and Rahlfs) give επι. Cf. Ps lxiii 11 with Rahlfs's note for this pair of variants.

17 ολοκαυτωμα: a slip for ολοκαυτωματα.

18 ειν: l. ειεν. εστιν is printed by Rahlfs, who records no variants; the quotation in Eus. *DE* 6.3.2 has ειει, as does the Theodoret manuscript 184, while 2110 and 275 have no verb. The plural is unlikely to be authentic: on the syntax of neuter plural substantives in the Psalms, see A. Pietersma, *VT* 26 (1976) 60-69, esp. 65 (on the present passage).

19 μοσχον: so MT. Other Greek manuscripts give the plural μοσχους (so Rahlfs).

20 προβατα: Rahlfs prints χιμαρους, recording a variant τραγους from 2013 Tht^p Th Chr (now also known from 2110). Both variants are also recorded for Origen's fifth column, while Aquila, Symmachus, and Quinta had κερεινους (Field). If προβατα here refers not to flocks and herds in general but specifically to sheep, as often, cf. 27.

22 εγγων: εγνωκα is printed by Rahlfs. No variants are recorded. The same pair of variants is found at cxxxiv 5 corresponding to the same word in MT.

22–3 των] ορεων: so MT. Other Greek manuscripts give του ουρανου (so Rahlfs).

27 αρνων: other copies have τραγων (so Rahlfs). Cf. 20 n.

29 θεω: other copies give υψιστω (so Rahlfs). θεω may be an error due to the occurrence of the same phrase in the previous stich.

30 επικαλες[α]: Α seems to have been written more or less as in ευχας (29). The beginning of the first stroke which would have given the upper part of the ‘loop’ is lost at the left where the upper layer of the papyrus is missing. The following λ is comparable to those at 32 below and ii 28.

34 The space between this line and the preceding line is unusually narrow, and the surviving letters are written in a large, rather crude, generously spaced hand. This suggests that the line is a later addition in the lower margin, και αναλαμβάνεις την διαθηκην μου having fallen out through parablepsy.

D

	[δ]ιηγ[ησαντο του κρυψαι παγιδας]	lxiii 6
	[ει]πε[ν τις οψεται αυτους εξηρευνησαν ανομιας]	6–7
	]εξελ[ιπον εξερευνωντες εξερευνησει]	
	]προ[ε]λ[ευσεται ανθρωπος και καρδια βαθεια]	
5	]και υψ[ωθησεται ο θεος]	8
	]βελος [νηπιων εγενηθησαν αι πληγαι αυτων]	
	]και εξη[σθενησαν επ αυ]του[ε αι γλωσσαι αυτων]	9
	[κ]αι ετα[ραχθη]ς[α]ν παντε[ε ο]ι θε[ωρουντες αυτους]	
	[κ]αι εφοβηθη [π]ας ανθρωπος και ανη[γγειλαν τα εργα του θεου]	10
10	[κ]αι τα π[ο]ιη[μ]ατα αυτου κυνη[κων]	
	[κ]αι ευφρανθησεται δικαιος επι τ[ω ΑΧΑ και ελπιδει επ αυτον]	11
	[κ]αι επα[ινεθησονται παν οι ευθ[εις τη καρδια]	
	. . [] εις το τε ^λ ψαλμοσ τω Δανειδ [	lxiv 1
	[κοι προ]επει ΑΧΑ υμνος εν Σειων [	2
15	[και κοι] αποδοθησεται ευχη [
	[εισακο]υσον προσευχης: προς σε π[ακα καρξ ηξει]	3
	[λογοι] ανομων υπερηδυναμ[ωσαν ημας]	4
	[και τ]αισ ασεβει[αισ η]μων συ [ιλαση]	
	[μακαρ]ιος [ο]ν [εξελεξω και προσελαβου]	5
20	[κατοι]κης[ε]ι [εν ταισ αυλαισ σου]	

2 [ει]πε[ν for the plural ειπαν (as printed by Rahlfs) or ειπον given by other copies, perhaps influenced by the singular τις introducing the question that follows.

8 [κ]αι is not in Rahlfs's text and not reported from other manuscripts. It may be due to the influence of the preceding and following line beginnings (cf. 11). και is a common intruder: see A. Pietersma in D. Fraenkel et al. (eds.), *Studien zur Septuaginta* (1990) 281–2.

9 Verses 10¹⁺² are combined here as in La^G T He 1219'. R' instead combine 10¹ with 9² and 10² with 10³.

11 [κ]α_i is not in Rahlfs's text and not reported from other manuscripts. Cf. 8 n.

12 επα[ι]νεθηζονται as in *L* and 55. B' R 1219 2110 spell the word with -cθη- (so Rahlfs).

παυ has replaced the correct παντες. The error is not reported from other copies. The space for the final υ appears slightly on the narrow side, but the papyrus is warped and other interpretations (including c) do not suit the traces.

13 The initial trace is a tapering cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters, probably the end of a paragraphus.

τε^λ: i.e. τέλ(oc).

Δαυειδ: i. Δαυιδ.

Following Δαυιδ, many copies in agreement with MT have ωδη as in Rahlfs (or ωδηc), but it is not present in S La^G L^{pa}U^T-Th^p 55. There is a short blank space before the break in this copy, which would naturally be taken to indicate line end, although abrasion cannot be absolutely excluded; but some caution is in order, since we have no other preserved superscription and it is possible that the scribe merely left a longer than usual space between words. After this, there follows in many copies *Ιερεμίου και Ιεζεκιηλ εκ του λογου της παροικιας, οτε εμελλον εκπορευεσθαι* (so Rahlfs) or the like. B' R O (as attested by Theodoret) L^bT^hHe 1219', in agreement with MT, do not have it, and there is no space for it in this copy. A. Pietersma in B. A. Taylor (ed.), *X Congress of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (2001) 118–20, argues for its absence from the original form of the Greek text.

14 The Tetragrammaton (A 12 n.) precedes υμνος. Other Greek manuscripts have instead ο θεος (corresponding to MT *Elohim*) after υμνος as in Rahlfs; so too Origen's fifth column and Aquila as reconstructed (Field).

σειων spelt as in C iii 1.

15 The η of ευχη has an extended gently descending tail attached to its second upright, with blank papyrus above, suggesting that it was the last letter of the line: contrast the η earlier in the line. The manuscript will then have lacked εν Ιερουσαλημ as printed by Rahlfs at the end of the stich: B' and 2110 also lack the phrase, in agreement with MT. However, this is not quite certain. The second η in C iii 34 has a fairly comparable, though not identical, tail (before τ), as does the η in C iii 12 (before c).

16 3¹⁺² are run together as in La^G and T.

The μου following προσευχης in other copies and in Rahlfs's text, for which Sa has ημων, is absent in this copy, as in S* R Ga (not the Vulgate) 55 2110, in agreement with MT. Origen's fifth column included the μου, while Aquila and Quinta as known from the Syrohexapla had something quite different (ὁ εἰσακούων προσευχῆς ἕως πάσης σαρκὸς ἤξει).

17 ανομων: Grabe's ἀνομιῶν (= Aquila, Symmachus; adopted by Rahlfs) not confirmed.

ὑπερηδυναμ[ωσαν as in B' T 1219' 2110 for -εδ- as printed by Rahlfs.

18 At the start, the space seems rather wide for καιτ but not impossibly so.

The dative as in *L* 1219: B' R He* 55 2110 have τας ασεβειας (so Rahlfs).

20 [κατοι]κης[ε]ι: so S (and Theodotion) for the usual (Rahlfs's) reading κατασκηνωσε, which is also given by Origen's fifth column and Symmachus, while Aquila had σκηνωσε (Field). παροι]κης[ε]ι, the reading of 2110 (and of Theodotion according to another report; cf. the *Auctarium* in Field), is also possible.

D. COLOMO
W. B. HENRY

II. HEXAMETERS

5102. HELLENISTIC(?) HEXAMETERS

88/262 (fr. 11: 5B.8g/G)

fr. 1 9.1 × 11.8 cm

Early third century
Plates IV–VII

Over sixty fragments, mostly scraps, from a papyrus roll preserving hexameters of uncertain mythical content, probably of the Hellenistic period. The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank. Margins are extant in a number of fragments: the lower margin measures 4 cm at its greatest extent (fr. 12), the upper 2.8 cm (fr. 2), while the intercolumnium ranges from 1.4 cm (fr. 3) to 2.7 cm (fr. 4). After the two largest pieces (fr. 1–2), the fragments are printed in the following order: fr. 3–5 significant fragments with a left margin or intercolumnium; fr. 6–7 significant fragments with no margins; fr. 8–11 significant fragments with a right margin; fr. 12–13 significant fragments with a lower margin; fr. 14–32 smaller fragments; fr. 33–62 scraps in which no word can be read with any certainty.

The papyrus is written in a specimen of the ‘Severe’ or ‘Formal Mixed’ style. The hand, slanting slightly to the right, is of fair size, not quite bilinear, and undecorated. Broad letters such as η , κ , μ , ν , π , τ , and ω contrast markedly with narrow and oval-shaped ϵ , θ , ρ , and ς . Triangular α has a sharp nose. In the apices of α , Δ , and λ , the right-hand oblique projects above the left-hand one. The horizontal mid-stroke of ϵ extends beyond the short cap and base of the letter. η has a high horizontal bar. The bow of μ has the shape of an arc suspended high between the parallel vertical strokes. As a result of the right slant of the writing, the second leg of ν , and sometimes of η , μ , and π , is shorter and begins at a higher plane than the first. ξ is cursive. \omicron is often small and gives the impression of floating between other letters. γ has a V-shaped cup and a long tail. The centre of ω is either flat or has only a slight bump, the letter’s arms leaning inwards (the left arm in a more angular fashion than the right one). For the placement of the hand in the first half of the third century, compare XVII **2098** (*GLH* 19b, with a land survey assigned to the reign of Gallienus on its back), VII **1012** (written on the back of an official account (VII **1045**) from the reign of Septimius Severus), I **23** (with a consular date of 295 on its back).

The original scribe does not seem to have written lectional signs, except perhaps for diaereses, which are otherwise difficult to assign to a particular hand, but are generally believed to count ‘as part of the text and [to be] written by the original hand’ (*GMAW*² pp. 10–11). They appear above iota and are used both organically (fr. 1.16, 12.2, 21.3) and inorganically (fr. 14.6, 15.4[?], 48.2; uncertain use: fr. 25.1, 33.3). The scribe usually effects elision (though cf. fr. 15.4 n.), but does

not mark it. A second hand, which is also responsible for corrections (see below), added some accents (acute: fr. 2.9, 5.12 (see palaeographical note), 21.3, 52.2; circumflex: fr. 2.9), a rough breathing in Turner's Form 1 (fr. 2.9), and frequent high stops (above the line of writing except at line end). The writing of iota adscript (not consistent: cf. e.g. fr. 5.2) is also due to this second hand, as it is clearly squeezed between letters (fr. 2.4, 7, 4 ii.12; at the end of the verse in fr. 29.3, 31.2; cf. also fr. 26.4]*χηι*[, where the iota belongs to the first hand, but the division of words is uncertain). Two critical signs, a diagonal stroke and an antisigma, appear in the left margin opposite fr. 4 ii.8, but their precise import at this point is unclear (see n. for a possibility). Their presence at least indicates that the text of the papyrus was valued highly enough to receive scholarly attention. There also seems to be a paragraphus below fr. 27.4 (see palaeographical note). 'Maas' Law' is observable in fr. 3 col. ii and 4 col. ii, and the left margin of fr. 3 col. ii contains four dots (below 4, 6, and opposite 10, 12), probably ruling marks; on this scribal practice and its relation to 'Maas's Law', see W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 91–99.

The second hand that penned the majority of the lectional signs also made a number of corrections and additions to the text (one correction might be due to the original scribe; see fr. 6.4 n.). They include addition of movable *ν* to avoid hiatus (fr. 1.15), addition of missing letters (fr. 25.4, 34.6), correction of an unmetrical form (fr. 4 ii.4 *Ἄρηα* → *Ἄρεα*), and correction of phonetic spellings (fr. 1.11 *π* → *φ*; fr. 15.4[?], 33.3 *ει* → *ι*). The corrections in fr. 18.2, 5 are uncertain. The drastic correction in fr. 1.12 conceals a serious corruption in the line and may be a conjecture (see n.). Corrected letters are generally deleted by a diagonal or horizontal stroke and the correction inserted above the line. In fr. 1.12, however, *φ* is corrected from *π* by closing the bottom of *π* and adding a tall vertical through its centre. Two iotacistic spellings were left uncorrected: fr. 1.16 *ἰο(ε)ιδέξ*, 3 ii.10 *ρ{ε}ψε*. [.

The contents of the fragments are not transparent, especially since not a single line is completely preserved or certainly restorable. They presumably relate to one poem, but nothing excludes the possibility that they represent several smaller poems or epyllia. The largest fragment (fr. 1) seems to be set in a mythical pastoral context: someone reaches a flock (8 *μῆλα*); either he/she, or the flock, turns about here and there (9); a female subject is mentioned (10); something happens 'unexpectedly' (11); the female members of the flock are beside a *σταθμός* (12–13); then there is mention of Artemis in the genitive, a fragrance (of the goddess? of burnt sacrifice?) emanating from, or from near, a cave (14–15), and the surging water of a spring (16), typical elements of a *locus amoenus*; the last line mentions 'wily Hermes' (17) if one restores *δο]λόμη[τι]ν . . . Ἑρμ[άωνα* (but see below for an alternative restoration). Given that Hermes' name appears in the accusative and is accompanied by a seemingly pregnant epithet, he is probably an active participant in the passage. His appearance in a pastoral context is appropriate given his strong connections with flocks and shepherding (see fr. 1.17 n.). The epithet

δολόμητις, moreover, if it is not merely ornamental, suggests that the god appears in this passage in his archetypal role of trickster. There cannot be any reference to Hermes' famous rustling of Apollo's cattle, for the latter cannot be designated as μῆλα, a term usually reserved for flocks of sheep and goats (see 8 n.). The mention of Artemis in this pastoral setting is more surprising, since it does not suit *prima facie* this goddess of the hunt and the wild. The genitive Ἄρ[τ]έμιδος (14), however, does not necessarily imply that the goddess herself is present in this scene, for it could refer to something belonging to Artemis (the cave, the spring, or an altar, restoring e.g. βωμὸς δ' Ἄρ[τ]έμιδος θυόεις ἄντροιο π[ά]ροιθεν) or a companion of the goddess. The female figure concealed by the participle ending]μένη at 10 may or may not be Artemis.

The only myth known to me that involves Hermes and Artemis in a pastoral context is the one told by Antoninus Liberalis, *Μεταμορφώσεων Κυναγωγὴ* 15, and attributed in a marginal manchette to the first book of the *Ornithogonia* by the Hellenistic pseudonymous poet 'Boeus'. The story relates the punishment of the three impious and misanthropic children of Eumelus by Athena, Artemis, and Hermes, who visit them at night, Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν καὶ Ἄρτεμις εἰκουῖαι κόραις, Ἑρμῆς δὲ ποιμένος ἔχων ცτολήν (15.3), and transform them into various birds. No part of Antoninus Liberalis' summary, however, can be specifically mapped onto fr. 1, and the absence of Athena from this and the other fragments causes difficulty.

A more promising avenue, albeit far from certain, is suggested by the word beginning δρυο[in fr. 1.13. It brings to mind a νύμφη who may have figured in one of Hermes' numerous erotic adventures (for a list of these, see S. Eitrem, *RE VIII* 774). The Homeric Hymn to Pan (*h. Hom.* 19.28–47) tells how Hermes visits Cyllene in Arcadia (ἐς Ἀρκαδίην πολυπίδακα μητέρα μῆλων) in the guise of a shepherd (ὄ γε καὶ θεὸς ὦν ψαφαρότριχα μῆλ' ἐνόμειεν / ἀνδρὶ πάρα θνητῶ) in order to win over the daughter of Dryops. He succeeds and their union results in the birth of Pan. This nymph, who is not explicitly named in the hymn, is usually understood to be the literary ancestor of Δρυόπη in Nicander fr. 41 Schn. (= Ant. Lib. 32, from Book 1 of the *Heteroiumena*) and Ovid *Met.* 9.324–93 (cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 10.551: *Dryope . . . nymph* is mother of Tarquitus by Faunus, who was identified with Pan). In Nicander, Dryope is the name of Dryops's daughter. The story concerns the nymph's relationship with Apollo rather than Hermes, but it is still set in a pastoral context, for Dryope is represented as a shepherdess turned nymph (Ovid's version is even more divergent). If my suggestion is accepted, our poet may have presented a developed account of the story of the Homeric Hymn, perhaps representing the daughter of Dryops/Dryope as a companion of Artemis; cf. *Il.* 16.180–86 (Hermes falls in love and sleeps with a mortal dance companion of Artemis with the pastorally evocative name of Πολυμήλη) and *h. Ven.* 117–21 (Aphrodite pretends that she was a mortal woman snatched by Hermes ἐκ χοροῦ Ἀρτέμιδος from amongst a group of nymphs and maidens). The cave and spring would be an appropriate

backdrop for such a scenario; for the literary and mythological associations between nymphs, pastoralism, caves, and springs, see J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore* (2001) 5, 9–10, 24, 26–7, 50, 78 ff., 96 ff. (note that Hermes is represented as sleeping with tree nymphs *μυχῶν κρείων ἑροέντων* in *h. Ven.* 262–3; for Artemis and the nymphs, see Larson, *op. cit.* 107 ff.). I have not been able, however, to offer a fully satisfactory reconstruction of the lines under this hypothesis, and it is equally possible that *δρυο*[simply represents the genitive of *δρῦς*, i.e. *δρῦός*[, or, less plausibly, the uncommon adjective *δρῦόεις*, *-όεντος* (found only in the spurious Homeric line *Il.* 2.783a, Hesych. δ 2426 Latte, and Nonnus).

A third possibility, suggested by Professor Giambattista D'Alessio, is that *δολόμητιν* in 17 refers not to Hermes himself (*δο*]λόμη[τιν] . . . *Ἑρμ[άωνα]*, 'but to one of his sons (supplementing *Ἑρμείας* at the end of the line and with some equivalent of *παῖδα* or *υῖόν* to be accommodated perhaps at the beginning of the line), e.g. Autolykos, or, conceivably, Pan'. A reference to Pan would still be consonant with the possible mention of Dryope, his mother, in 13 (see above). In view of the close association of Selene with Artemis (14), however, Professor D'Alessio also points to *Virg. G.* 3.391–3:

*Munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est,
Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit
in nemora alta vocans nec tu aspernata vocantem.*

This brief *exemplum* is traditionally understood to mean that Pan disguised himself as a white-fleeced ram or (less likely) metamorphosed himself into one in order to seduce Selene/Luna (cf. *Serv. Auct. ut illi* [i.e. *Lunae*] *formosus videretur, niveis vellerebus se circumdedit*), but there are other possibilities; see R. A. B. Mynors and R. F. Thomas *ad loc.*, and W. Frenztz, *Mythologisches in Vergils Georgica* (1967) 129–30. Macrobius *Sat.* 5.22.9–10 attributes the story to Nicander (= fr. 115 Schn.), in which case it probably derives from his *Heteroioumena* or *Georgica*. Besides the suitable pastoral context, *fefellit* tantalisingly recalls *δο*]λόμη[τιν], and *δρυο*[could denote the *nemora alta* in which Pan presumably had his way with Selene. It is also notable that according to Porphyry *De antr. nymph.* 20, Selene and Lycean Pan were worshipped together in a cave in Arcadia (cf. 14 *ἀντροίω*, *G.* 3.392 *Pan deus Arcadiae*). Could the story have been related as an *aition* for the sanctuary? I note also the potential connection of *in nemora alta vocans* with Dr Martin West's suggested restoration (though not with this specific context in mind) of *οἷη* [τε] *χελιδόνος εἶσα*[το φωνή at 6 (in *h. Hom.* 19.14–18 Pan's playing on the pipes is favourably compared to the song of the nightingale).

The other fragments are too scrappy for us to infer a particular context. The most notable is fr. 3, whose second column preserves the very beginning of lines and contains a form of the name *Τάμμας* (5), which is otherwise known only from a fragment of Callimachus of uncertain context as the equivalent of *Ἀθάμας*. The

reason for the mention of Tammias/Athamas is unclear from the small fragment (see fr. 3.10 n. for a possible context). Fr. 1 does not obviously fit any of the known myths involving Athamas, except that Hermes is associated with the latter on two occasions: first, when he presents the ram with the golden fleece to Athamas' first wife Nephele after she had saved Phrixus from being sacrificed by his father (e.g. *Apoll. Bibl.* 1.9.1); second, when he brings the baby Dionysus to Athamas and his second wife Ino to be reared by them (e.g. *Apoll. Bibl.* 3.4.3; *Nonn. D.* 9.52 ff.). Neither of these stories is detectable in the fragments; cf. perhaps fr. 4 ii.9 *νῖα*, 15.7 *χ]ρυσ[ε]ίην*, 17.5 *χρυσ[ε]*. Fr. 4 col. ii appears to preserve a speech with a mention of Ares and an address or prayer to a goddess (*πότνια*). For other fragments that seem to imply direct speech, see fr. 3 i.5 n., 16.2 n., 18.5 n. Fr. 29.4 may mention Zeus (see n.).

Although not much can be made of the contents of **5102**, its style and diction suggest a poem conceived in the learned Hellenistic manner (an asterisk indicates that the word or phrase occurs in the same metrical *sedes*). While some specific Homeric *loci* are imitated (fr. 1.13* *πὰρ σταθμ-*; 5.2* *τῆ ἑτέρῃ*; 6.5 *αἰόλος οἰστρος*; 9.4* *χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς*; fr. 14.5 dual *ἀντέσθην*; fr. 16.2 imperative *ε]πείω?*), other words and forms have parallels only in Hellenistic or later poetry. Some are particularly reminiscent of Apollonius Rhodius: fr. 1.5* position of *ἐπικρατέ[ωσ(?)*; 1.11 *ἀπροφάτως*; 1.15 the iterative form of *ἐξανίημι*; 5.7* *ἄμφω χερσίν*; 6.3 the perfect of *φορέω*; cf. fr. 1.17* *ἐπιस्ताδόν* (otherwise only in the *Odyssey*). For exclusive correspondences with Nicander, cf. fr. 5.11 *εἰς πλέον*, 7.3 *νεβροῖο*. Specific echoes of Callimachus are the hypocoristic form *Τάμμας* mentioned above (fr. 3 ii.5) and the *oppositio in imitando* of Call. fr. 546 Pf. in fr. 1.16; cf. also the possible echo of *Hecale* fr. 62 Hollis in fr. 3 ii.3 (see n.). Other words and expressions shared with multiple Hellenistic and later authors, but not with earlier epic: fr. 1.15 *ὑπὸ κρηπίδ-* (Nonnus); 2.3 *ἐμπληξ-* for *ἐνιπληξ-* (Aratus, Apollonius); 2.4 *ἀμφίδετος(?)* (Philip, Gregory of Nazianzus); 4 ii.4 accusative *Ἄρεα* for *Ἄρηα* (not before Apollonius); 11.2 the verb *ὀλόπτω* (Callimachus, Euphorion, Nicander, Antipater, Nonnus); 12.2 *ζαχραῆς* for *ζαχρηῆς/ζαχρειῆς* (Nicander, Dionysius). Fr. 6.4 *ὑψικέρης β[οῦ]* probably recalls Bacchylides 16.22 (see n.). If correctly restored, the adverb *λύγδη[ν]* in fr. 13.2 is attested only by Sophocles.

Given the small size of most fragments and the lack of complete lines, it is difficult to generalize about the metrical style of the poem. In the largest fragment (fr. 1), which preserves the middle of verses, the ratio of feminine to masculine caesuras is about 4 : 1, suggesting that the poem can hardly date from the fifth or fourth century; cf. M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (1982) 153. At least three bucolic caesuras are identifiable (6, 11[?], 12, 17). The fragment shows four or five contractions, two in the second foot (10, 13), one possibly in the third foot (12), and two consecutive ones in the fourth foot (14, 15). The latter both accord with Naeke's Law, typical of Callimachus and Nicander, in that the contracted fourth biceps is not followed by

word end (cf. fr. 2.7 n.). No infringements of Hermann's Bridge are identifiable (in 8 the prepositive *καί* would have counted with the following word if it underwent correption). A form of *Ἀρβό[πη]* in 13 (see above) would contravene the Callimachean avoidance of words shaped | ~ - | ending in the fifth princeps, but this was not universally observed among the Hellenistic poets (see West, *Greek Metre* 155). A *spondeiazon* is likely at the end of 17 (see n.).

I am grateful to Professor Giambattista D'Alessio, Dr W. Benjamin Henry, Professor Peter J. Parsons, and Dr Martin L. West for some valuable suggestions, acknowledged individually in the notes by their initials.

fr. 1

] . [.] . . . [.
] . . [.] . ω ν . . . [.
] ν α . [.] σ ι θ α λ α σ σ [.
] . δ α . [.] ε ρ σ ι ν ὄ ν π ω [.
 5] . α μ . [.] ν ᾽ ε π ι κ ρ α τ . [.
] ν ο ι . [. .] χ ε λ ι δ ο ν ο σ ε ι . α [.
] . ε ι χ [.] . ο θ υ μ ο ν ε π ε ι φ α . [.
] . ω ν κ α . α μ η λ α κ ι χ ε ν κ α . [.
] ε ν θ α κ α ι ε ν θ α π ε ρ . σ τ ρ [.
 10] . ε ν η μ η τ ο υ μ ε ν α π η μ [.
] . [(.)] α π ρ ο φ . ω σ τ α δ ε ο ι κ α τ α [.
 (m.2)] . η μ α θ ε ο ι π ο ι ε σ θ ῶ ν τ . θ . . ε ἰ [.
] . ο ν π α ρ σ τ α θ μ ο ν ᾽ α τ α ρ . ρ υ ο [.
] α . [.] ε μ ι δ ο σ θ υ ο ε ι α ν τ ρ ο ι ο . [.
 (m.2) 15] . ξ α ν ι ε σ κ ε υ π ο κ ρ η π ι . [.
] ἰ ο ἰ ἴ δ ε . δ ω ρ α ν ε β α λ λ ε τ ο π [.
] λ ο μ . [. .] ν ε π ι σ τ α δ ο ν ε ρ μ [.

fr. 1

1 letter feet 2] . [, upright; bottom of ε or σ] . , traces of upright leaning to the right with join from top left . . . [, bottom of circular letter; descender; shorter descender 3] . [, foot of upright leaning to the right 4] . , end of horizontal or slightly descending oblique at mid-height: mid-stroke of ε? [, lower half of upright] . , dot at line level, perhaps end of descending oblique 5] . , short upright with join from left at its foot: η or (less likely) ω [, junction near line level of slender horizontal and ascending oblique: left-hand angle of φ, ω or (less likely) Δ (not Α)] ν , end of oblique joining second upright [, small trace of left arc at mid-height 6] . [, upright immediately followed by traces on the underlayer suggesting a horizontal at two-thirds height, then on the upper layer the foot of another upright: η?] χ ε , lower half of χ (not λ), bottom and tip of cross-bar of ε ι , bottom of ε or σ 7] . , traces suggesting right angular junction of Δ [, tip of horizontal touching top of ο [, speck at line level and top of oblique level with letter-tops descending from left to right 8] . , tip of horizontal at line level touching ω: probably Α Δ or λ α , nose of Α and long horizontal level with letter-tops touching following Α: τ or τ [, upright on edge 9 ρ , foot of short descender 10] . , upright joined from top left by ascending oblique: μ 11] . [, long descender φ corrected from π . . , on abraded surface, outline of triangular letter, then long horizontal level with letter-tops with specks in place for upright below (τ) 12] . , end of horizontal at line level: tail of Α or flattened foot of second leg of λ (Δ perhaps also possible) τ , small lower left arc at mid-height (ο) . . , traces suggesting two parallel, widely spaced uprights (η, μ, π); λ or Α α [, above this letter left arc or upright (interlinear addition? lectional sign?) 13] . , small circle level with letter-tops: ο or loop of ρ ρ , on abraded surface, scattered traces of ascending oblique joining descending oblique at an apex (Α, Δ) 14] . [(first), small raised circle: ο or loop of ρ [(second), thick upright with horizontal join from

fr. 1

] . [.] . . . [.] . . . [.]
] . . [.] . ων . . . [.]
] να . [.] ci θαλασσ[.]
] εδα . [.] . εσσιν· ὑπω[∞ - ∞ - x
 5] γαμφ[.] γ· ἐπικρατε[- ∞ - x
 - ∞ -] νοιη[. .] χελιδόνος εἰσα[(∞) - x
 - ∞] δειχ[. .] το θυμὸν ἐπεὶ φα . [(∞) - ∞ - x
 - ∞] . ων κατὰ μῆλα κίχεν καὶ [(∞) - ∞ - x
 - ∞] ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα περιστρ[∞ - ∞ - x
 10 - ∞] μένη μὴ τοῦ μὲν ἀπημ[∞ - ∞ - x
 - ∞] . [(.)] ἀπροφάτως· τὰ δέ οἱ κατα[- ∞ - x
 - ∞] . ημαθεοὶ ποιεσ[πον] κέτο· θήλεια[- x
 - ∞] . ον παρ σταθμόν· ἀτὰρ δρυο[- ∞ - x
 - ∞] Ἄρ[τ]έμιδος θυόεις ἄντροιο . [∞ - x
 15 - ∞] . ἔξανίες κέν ὑπὸ κρηπίδ[∞ - x
 - ∞ -] ἰο(ε)ιδὲς ὕδωρ ἀνεβάλλετο π[- x
 - ∞ -] δο]λόμη[τι]ν ἐπισταδὸν Ἐρμ[άωνα

the top right: Γ or Π 15] . . , upright leaning to the right or right arc; ε or θ (traces slightly displaced) . [, small dot at line level 16 . . . , small angular cap at two-thirds height (c, θ, ο, ρ); bowl of γ or (less likely) upper arms of x τ, long horizontal level with letter-tops 17 . [, upright on edge, perhaps with horizontal join from the right at two-thirds height (η?)

fr. 2

	] ρονοσικετολυ[	] ρονος ἴκετο λυ[
	] αταιθερος . υτε[	] ατ' αἰθέρος ἦύτε [
	] ερασεμπλη . α[	] ερας ἐμπληξα[
	] . μφιδετω . κλα[	] ἀμφιδετωι κλα[
5	] ονκεκορηοτ . [	5] ον κεκορηότα[
	] . φρενας . α . φ . [	] ε φρένας . ἀμφι[
	] αεικησιμιε . αθ[	] αει κ' ἦσι μελαθ[ρ
	] δηρειονγελ[	ει] δῆρειον γελ[
	] . ἄπαν ἦτορ . [	] . ἄπαν ἦτορ α[
10	] . αιωσεχενα[	10] καὶ ὡς ἔχενα[
	] . δ . . . [ . . ] . [	] . δε . . [. .] . [
	] ν . [	] ν . [

fr. 2

2 ., top of upright with horizontal join from the right at two-thirds height, then top of another upright intersected by the same horizontal (H) 3 .a[, right and left tips of long horizontal level with letter-tops and another horizontal at line level: z or z̄ (not c); nose and top of λ 4]., low ascending oblique joining end of descending oblique (like tail of λ) ω ., abraded traces of upright 5 .[, upper tip of thick oblique descending from left to right slightly above letter-tops 6]., tip of cross-stroke and cap of ε a ., two parallel uprights, the second with join from top left: H or λ .[, dot at line level and speck at mid-height above it (upright?) 7 ε ., λ or λ 9]., right-hand end of horizontal at line level, dot at mid-height above it, then dot at two-thirds height further to right (z̄?) .[, nose of λ 10]., oblique gently ascending from left to right at two-thirds height and dot near line level: most probably the arms of κ 11]., upright descending below line level (Υ? P?)[, short horizontal level with letter-tops with vertical join at left, and below it displaced part of upright: ε or c; small trace level with letter-tops; horizontal level with letter-tops: τ z z̄ π or τ .[, dot level with letter-tops 12]., dot level with letter-tops

fr. 3 col. i

col. ii

col. ii

	.]. [
	]νη.			
	]ων			
	]ο[.]			
5	]ρηαι	υ.[		υ.[
	]	ικ. . . . [		ικ. . . . [
	]	ηχικο.[		ἠχι κο.[
	]η.	ε[.]ταδ[		ε[.]ταδ[
	]	ταμμα[	5	Τάμμα[
10	]αι	τουδε[		τοῦ δε[
	].	πνοιη[		πνοιη[
	]	αψεαδ[		ἄψεα δ[
	]..	.[.]αρο[		η[.]αρ ο[
	]	ρ. . ψε.[	10	ῥεψε.[
15	] ]	τησεξ[		τῆς ἐξ[
	]	.] . . . [		.]. υ.[

fr. 3 col. i

1] .[, small trace on edge or λ smudged ink after lacuna specks; upright

4] ., slightly curved oblique descending from left to right: λ 11] ., small trace on edge 13] . ., high and mid-level

col. ii

1 .[, upright 2[, dot at line level, apparently foot of an upright; bottom of ε ο or c; nose and tail of λ, or base of z or z̄; bottom of upright and specks to the right 3 .[, upright abraded in upper part 9 .[, H or 1τ 10 . ., lower arc, like base of ε ο or c (o

not impossible); lower half of upright [, upright 12] . . . , horizontal level with letter-tops, perhaps with vertical join at right: τ ζ ζ π or τ; upper arms of γ or χ; apex of λ or Δ

fr. 4 col. i

col. ii

col. ii

		c.6 ] . [		c.6] . [
		(.)] . . . εψα[		(.)] . . . δεψα[
	(m.2)	τοῦδετο[		τὸν δὲ το[
		αρ[[^ε η]]ακητ[		ἄρ[[^ε η]]᾽έα κητ[
		πο . . . ια[	5	πότνια[
		νυμμοια[		νῦν μοι α[
		χρειωκα[		χρειῶ κα[
		/D αιμαπε[		/D αἶμα πε[
5		νιακομ . [		νῆα κομ . [
		αρκιατη[	10	ἄρκια τη[
		ου . . . χα[		οὔ μοι χα[
		τωῖδε[		τῶιδε [
		. . ] . . [		. . ] . μ[

fr. 4 col. ii

1] . [, foot of upright(?) 2] . . . , small trace at line level, perhaps belonging to the first letter of the line; bottom of small oval or circular letter: ε θ or (less likely) c; right-hand angular junction of Δ 5 . . . , left-hand tip of horizontal level with letter-tops (τ?); upright on edge of lacuna 9] . [, small dot slightly above letter-tops 11 . . . , μ or Ν; before lacuna scattered traces of left arc at mid-height (ο?); upright 13] . . [, upper tip of oblique ascending from left to right: κ γ or χ; left-hand half of μ

fr. 5

	. . . . ογε . [		. . . . ογε . [
	τηετερη[		τῆ ἑτέρη [
	θαυμαζ[		θαυμαζ[
	εκτουκα[		ἐκ τοῦ κα[
5	πρεμνω[	5	πρέμνω[
	στησεκερα[		στήσε κερα[
	αμφωχερς[		ἄμφω χερς[^{ι(ν)}
	τονμενα[		τὸν μὲν α[
	ευταναπα . [		εὔτ' ἀναπα . [
10	ινενεπις . [	10	πῖνεν ἐπιςχ[
	ισπλεον . [		εἰς πλέον η[
] . [. . . .] . [

fr. 5

1 , first to third, scattered and indistinct traces at line level; fourth, upright (because of dirt it is unclear whether there is a join at the foot) . [, upright 2 η [, upright with horizontal join from right at two-thirds height 9 . [, upright leaning to the right 10 . ι , two uprights with the left-hand part of a high cross-bar touching the first: π, ιτ or (less likely) τι . [, speck at line level and top of descending oblique at two-thirds height 11 . ι , end of horizontal or descending oblique at mid-height . [, foot of upright; slightly to the right, dot level with letter-tops; further to the right top of another upright (η?) 12] . [, vcrly high trace within interlinear space, a short ascending oblique with flat foot: probably aeute aeacent

fr. 6

.
] α . [	] . . . . . α . [
] π ε λ ε θ ρ . [	] π ε λ ε θ ρ α [
] . σ π ε φ ο ρ . [	] ω σ π ε φ ο ρ η [
] υ ψ ι κ ε ρ [ω] β [	] υ ψ ι κ έ ρ [ω] η σ ' β [
5] . ο λ ο σ ο ι σ . ρ ο [	5 α] ὀ λ ο σ ο ἰ σ τ ρ ο [σ
] α δ ο ν [	] . . λ α δ ο ν [
] . π ε . [	] ε π ε λ [
.

fr. 6

1 } , first, upright; second, two parallel, widely-spread uprights: probably η μ or π; third, upright; fourth, short horizontal or lower arc at mid-height (ο?); fifth, short horizontal or lower arc at line level, then dot level with letter-tops (ε θ or σ) . [, descender: ρ γ φ or ψ 2] π , right-hand half . [, abraded surface: small arc at line level and descending oblique at top with join from left: α? 3] . , join of slender horizontal at line level with foot of upright slightly leaning to the left (ω?) . [, after small abraded space short horizontal at two-thirds height 5] . , top of upright, abraded below σ , right end of horizontal level with letter-tops: τ or τ 6] . . . , part of right-hand arc at mid-height apparently intersected by horizontal from the left (θ? ο?); top of oblique descending from left to right: α Δ or λ; oblique descending from left to right: α Δ or λ 7] . , end of slender horizontal at mid-height (like mid-stroke of ε) . [, λ or κ

fr. 7

.
] α . ι . [(.)] ν [	] α . ι . [(.)] ν [
] ν π ρ ο μ ο . ο [	] ν π ρ ο μ ο λ ο [
] ε β ρ ο ι ο π . λ ω ρ [	ν] ε β ρ ο ἰ ο π ε λ ω ρ [
] . κ α . . . ν . ο σ α τ α [	] σ κ α ἰ ρ ο ν τ ο σ ἄ τ α [
5] . ζ τ . [.] . ε ι α μ . [	5] . ζ τ . [.] . ε ι α μ . [
] . . χ [. . .] . [.] κ . [	] λ α χ [. . .] . [.] κ . [
] . ε ρ . [.] ε ι [	] . ε ρ . [.] ε ι [
] . ι ο σ [	] . ι ο σ [
.

fr. 7

The writing runs across strips of vertical fibres in the left-hand part of the fragment, perhaps part of an ancient repair 1 α, two parallel uprights (e.g. η or π) 2 ο, foot of ascending oblique, then descending oblique touching following ο: α or λ 3 π, tiny trace at one-third height after lacuna 4], upper arc like cap of ε or c . . . , top of upright; small left-hand semicircle: ρ β or ο; left-hand arc on a single fibre and further traces to the right (circular letter?) ν, descender α[, nose 5], small traces at line level and one-third height; small trace above letter-tops (perhaps part of lectional sign?) 6], upright leaning to the right 7], upper arc 8], dot at line level 9], λ or α; top of steeply descending oblique: α Δ or λ 10], specks on edge (top of circular letter?) 11], dot slightly above letter-tops 12], right-hand end of top arc 13], speck at mid-height, then thick dot below line level (perhaps high stop belonging to line 8) 14]ε[, indistinct smudged traces above 15], upright or steeply descending oblique

fr. 8

].].
]]
]]
]]
5	] . ον	5] τ ου
	] ω ς .	] ω ς .
	] φ ρ η .	] φ ρ η .
	].	] ζ
	] θ . . [	] θ . . [
10	] π ο ν τ ο υ [	10] π ό ν τ ο υ
	] . . κ . . . η ς	] . . κ ο ύ ρ η ς
	] . α ι τ η [	] . α ι τ η [
	] . ι ν	] . ι ν
	] . ω ν	] δ ω ν
15	] . ν .	15] . ν .
	] η τ [	] η τ [
] . . [] . . [

fr. 8

1], upright with horizontal join from left at two-thirds height: η τ ι or τ ι 5], long high horizontal: τ 8], top and bottom of oval letter open to the right: ε or c (no mid-stroke visible) 9 . . [, descender, then speck at mid-height; trace at two-thirds height 11], dot at mid-height (part of descending oblique?); upright . . . , bottom of small circular letter: ο more likely than ε c ø; descender; taller descender 12], upper tip of oblique ascending from left to right (compatible with κ × Υ) 13], dot level with letter-tops 14], right-hand angular junction of Δ at line level touching ω 15], specks level with letter-tops 17], . . [, high traces

fr. 9

	]. . . . . [		]. . . ω . [
	] . λ α ς . [		] . λ α ς .
	] ο γ ν ι ο υ		] ο γ ν ί ο υ
	] . ε ι ρ α ς ο ρ ε γ ν . [		] χ ε ί ρ α ς ὀ ρ ε γ ν ύ [ς
5	]	5]
	] . ε ν ε π [[.]] ε ι τ [		] μ ἔ ν ἔ π ε ι τ [α
	] . ν ο ς ς [		] ε ν ο ς ς [
	] ε λ . [		] ε λ α [
	] δ ε ω [		] δ ε ω [
10	] ο ν ς [	10	] ο ν ς [

fr. 9

1 Two parallel uprights leaning to the right; small horizontal trace at one-third height, then right-hand side of ω; descender 2], upright, perhaps with join from top left 4], arms of κ or χ [, upper tip of oblique descending from left to right: γ or χ 6], upright perhaps with join from top left: ι μ or π ε (second), an accidental spot of ink at the tip of the mid-stroke The correction after π is uncertain 7], end of horizontal at about one-third height (mid-stroke of ε?) 8], foot of oblique ascending from left to right, then top of descending oblique slightly above letter-tops: α or λ (χ unlikely)

fr. 10

	] η ω [		] η ω [
	] τ τ ι φ [		ὄ] τ τ ι φ [
	] α ς ι ν ε . [		] α ς ι ν ε ι [
]]
5	] ν ε ι α ρ	5	ὄ] ν ε ι α ρ
	] . ν α γ ε ς . α [		] . ν ά γ ε ς θ α [ι
	] η ν .		] η ν .
	] ρ α ς		] ρ α ς
	] η β η [		] η β η [

fr. 10

3], upright 6], speck near line level c , oval letter with mid-stroke: ε or e

fr. 11

	] ανθα.[		ά]κάνθαζ [
	] λο . . [		] λοψα[
	] δ . [		] ηδ . [
	] νυη[		] νυη[
5	] η	5	] ιη

fr. 11

1] , arms of κ or χ . [, top and bottom of short upright 2] , speck on edge at two-thirds height . . [, horizontal at two-thirds height, then low traces (a descender?) and another dot slightly above letter-tops (ϣ?); apex of α or λ 3] , Η or ΓΙ/ΤΙ/ϣΙ . [, trace at line level 5] , upright with no visible join (1?)

fr. 12

	] αυτουπρε[		] αυτου̂ πρε[
	] ζαχραει̃θ[		] ζαχραει̃̃ θ[
	] κατακο . μον[		] κατὰ κόζμον [

fr. 12

These lines are unusually closely spaced 3 . , lower-left part of narrow oval letter: ε̃ θ or c

fr. 13

] . . . [] . . . [
	] λυγδ . [		] λύγδη[ν

fr. 13

1] . . . [, bottom of circular or oval letter; descender; speck 2 . [, upright

fr. 14

] . . [] . . [
	] εκτουδ[		] ἐκ του̃δ[
	] ενθακα . [		] ἔνθα κα . [
	] τωδαμυ[		] τω δ' ἀμυ[
5	] αντεςθην[	5	] ἀντέσθην [
	] . τοι . γι̃ . [		] ητοιο γ' ἰ̃ . [
	] . [ . . ] . . α[		] ρ[. .] . . α[
	] . μ . ν . [		] ωμεντ[

fr. 16

1] . . . [, letter feet 2] . , upright apparently with horizontal join from top left: π? (not λ) π, small dot level with letter-tops 3] . , horizontal bar and second upright of η or possibly ρ, τ 4] . [, bottom of upright leaning to the right or ascending oblique; two traces touching ρ from above (feet of uprights?) suggest an interlinear addition 5] . [, tall upright leaning to the right 8] . . . [, perhaps upper parts of η; upper half of θ or ο; upper part of c or ε; upper half of θ or (less likely) ο

fr. 17

1] . [, join of ascending and descending obliques resembling lower-right angle of λ 2] . , horizontal at line level with inward-leaning outer arms, like lower half of β (too small for ω) 3] . [, ρ or π 5] . [, join of right-leaning upright and horizontal at line level: ε θ c or ω 6] . , thick dot at line level 8] . [, upright leaning to the right, perhaps with join from bottom right

fr. 18

(m.2)	]. επα. [	]. κεπαρ[
	]νζω[[κ]] [	]νζω[[κ]]\η[
	]μνδι. [	ᾶ]μνδις [
(m.2)	]. υποτ _μ [	]. υποτ [
5	] [[γ]] α [[γ]] ο. [	5] [[γ]] ᾿κ' α [[γ]] ᾿μ' ο μ [
] . [. .] . . [] . [. .] . . [
	] . καιχα [	] ι και χα [
	] . αι κρητηη [	] . αι κρητηη [
	] . υμει [	] . υμει [
10	] υσειν [	10] υσειν [
	] σεκ [	] σεκ [
	] ρτ [	] ρτ [

fr. 18

1] . , foot of upright, then end of gently descending oblique touching ε at one-third height: κ? 2] . [, short descender, thicker at top (loop of ρ?) 3] . [, thick upright with horizontal join from right at two-thirds height (η?) 4] . [, upright leaning to right with horizontal join from right at line level: ε c or ω 5] . [, thick dot level with letter-tops (top of upright?) 6] . [, upright with thick join at mid-height (like arms of κ) 7] . [, left-hand half of λ (not η) 8] . [, high dot 9] . [, high horizontal apparently with vertical join at right, below which a large lacuna then dot at line level (π?); foot of upright 10] . [, upright 11] . [, lower half of upright 12] . [, part of descending oblique

fr. 19

	·	·		·	·
	]νικ[			]νικ[
	]τογει[			]το γει[
	]νδρεον[			δέ]νδρεον [
	]·αδον[			κ]λάδον(?) [
5	]νου· [		5	]νου· [
]·· []·· [
	·	·		·	·

fr. 19

4]·, foot of descending oblique touching nose of α: α κ or λ 5]·, γ or π 6]··[, apex of α or λ; top of descending oblique

fr. 20

	·	·		·	·
	]·η·...ο[			]·η·...ο[
	]·εανον· [			]·εανον· [
	]φρονοςε· [			]φρονοςε· [
	]μεται· [			]μεται· [
5	]·υθ[		5	]ρυθ[
	]· [			]κ[
	·	·		·	·

fr. 20

1]·, dot at line level (end of horizontal?) ·...·, upright; dot at one-third height; dot at line level; speck at mid-height 2]·, dot at two-thirds height]·, bottom and top of upright (with join at top right?) 3]φ, right-hand half, slightly abraded]·, upright 5]·, small circle: ρ or ο 6]·[, probably arms of κ

fr. 21

	·	·		·	·
]· []· [
	]ο·· [			]οζβ[
	]λήϊζ·· [			κ]λήϊζε τ[
	]τιχεν· [			(-)ές]τιχεν· ε[
5	]·εδ· [		5	]π·εδ· [
	·	·		·	·

fr. 21

1]·[, upright 2]·[, c or ε; large circular letter (not sufficiently angular for α and unusually large for ο; lower loop of β?) 3]··[, horizontal at mid-height like projecting mid-stroke

of ε; left tip of horizontal level with letter-tops (τ?)
horizontal join from the right at one-third height: ε or θ
(π? μ?) .[, upright

4 .[, left-hand part of oval letter with
5] ., upright with join from top left

fr. 22

. . .
]. α . . . [
]. φαν[
]ικιλλε . [
]λιγκιον[
5] . . . κ . [
. . .

fr. 23

. . .
]. α . . . [
]. φαν[
πο]ικιλλεζ[
ἐνα]λίγκιον [.
]. ροϋ κ . [
. . .

. . .
]. εον . [
]μακαια[
]. υρεν
]ατο . [
. . .

. . .
]. εον . [
]μα και α[
] εδρεν
]ατο . [
. . .

fr. 22

1] ., ascending oblique . . . [, upright; horizontal at mid-height, then lower half of upright (τ?); the two sets of traces could represent η 2] ., indistinct traces on dirty surface, perhaps ε or c 3] ., ε or c 5] . . . , letter-tops: first, dot; second, small circle (ρ or ο); third, top of small circle (ο?); fourth, top of descending oblique, then upper tip of upright (ν?) .[, top of descending oblique (α λ γ or χ)

fr. 23

1] ., long descender .[, angular junction at line level: Δ or ω (not λ) 2] μ, upright with oblique join from top left 3] ., dot and above at mid-height end of horizontal, like mid-stroke of ε after ν small blank space 4] ., ρ or π

fr. 24

. . .
] [
]ηκεν . [
]. μορξ[
]. ος τ[
. . .

. . .
] [
]ηκεν . [
(ἀπ)ο]μορξ[
]. ρος τ[
. . .

fr. 25

. . .
]. ἰπε[
]εχηρημ[
(m.2)] . . θεν . [
]. τοφα . [
. . .

. . .
]. ἰπε[
]εχηρημ[
]αυθεν . [
] ζτ' ῥόφαλ[
. . .

fr. 24

1 Feet of letters: tip of ascending oblique; dot at line level; horizontal trace at line level, then bottom of descender (two letters?); lower tip of descender 2] .[, short horizontal at line level joined at its left end by right-leaning upright (ε θ c or ω?) 3] ., high and small left-facing semicircle: ο or ρ 4] ., descending oblique then top of upright: ν?

fr. 25

1] ., short horizontal stroke at line level (ε? c? possibly tip of λ's tail, though it would be unusually thin here) 3] . ., descending oblique; descending oblique joining faint upright: ν? .[, ascending oblique perhaps with join from bottom right 4] ., small upper arc level with letter-tops, like cap of ε or c .[, foot of ascending oblique or upright touching end of preceding α

fr. 26

. .
] . a . [
] . a τ ε [
] . ε ν ε [
] c η ι c [
 5] α ρ ε γ [
] . α υ τ [
] . ι ο τ . [
] . ο δ ε [
] . ε η . [
 . .

fr. 27

. . . .
] . a . [
] . a τ ε [
] . ε ν ε [
] c η ι c [
] α ρ ε γ [
] λ α υ τ [
] ο ι ο τ . [
] π ο δ ε [
] . ε η . [

] . a [
] τ ε . [
] ξ ο μ [
] α . [
] c κ ε ν . [
] . π . . . [
] ν . π ε [
] δ [
] τ ε [

] . a [
] τ ε . [
] ξ ο μ [
] α . [
] c κ ε ν ε [
] α π ο δ υ [
] ν ε π ε [
] δ [
] τ ε [

fr. 26

1] ., right end of horizontal level with letter-tops: ρ or τ .[, flat trace at line level . 2] ., end of horizontal at mid-height (mid-stroke of ε?) . 3] ., dot at mid-height . 6] ., α or λ . 7] ., small circle on edge: ο or ρ .[, upper tip of descending oblique . 8] ., short upright with horizontal join from top left: μ or π . 9] ., top of ascending oblique: γ or × (not κ) .[, left end of horizontal at mid-height

fr. 27

1] ., tip of horizontal at line level curving upward . 2 .[, foot of upright . 4 a horizontal line below α probably represents the right-hand end of a paragraphus .[, upright, then speck at mid-height, then top of another upright (η? Two letters?) . 5 .[, left side of oval letter with apparent join from the right at mid-height: ε or θ . 6] ., α or (less likely) λ[, small upper-left quadrant at two-thirds height (ο?); α or Δ; small descending oblique at top (Υ?) . 7 ν ., ε or θ

fr. 28

. . . .
] [
] ν . α τ [
] . c κ α [
] ι ο τ . [
 5] . λ α [
] . ε [

fr. 29

. . . .
] [
] ν . α τ [
] . c κ α [
] ι ο τ . [
] τ λ α [
] . ε [

] [
] κ ο ι τ . [
] . β ω ι . [
] . ι . ν α [
] . ο c [
] α λ ο [

] [
] κ ο ι τ . [
] . β ω ι . [
] ν ι . ν α [
] π ο c [
] α λ ο [

fr. 28

1][, thick horizontal trace intersecting a thin upright (deletion?); tall upright; upright leaning slightly to the right . 3] ., dot at two-thirds height . 4 .[, long descender or insertion into the following line . 5] ., end of long horizontal at two-thirds height: τ or ρ . 6] ., long horizontal touching following ε at two-thirds height: ρ or τ

fr. 29

1] . . . [, letter-feet: speck on edge; lower tip of upright; ε · θ or c; dot (foot of upright?)
 2 . [, top of upright 3] . , speck near line level, blank space above 4] . , descending
 oblique joining short upright: η ι . , speck on edge of lacuna at two-thirds height, then after lacuna
 short upright perhaps with join from bottom left 5] . , short upright with horizontal join from
 top left: π?

fr. 30

· ·	· ·
] c μ [	] c μ [
] . ο μ ε . ο . [	] λ ο μ ε ρ ο ι [
] α μ ι ν ο υ [	] α μ ι ν ο υ [
] . ε [. .] ρ [	] . ε [. .] ρ [
· ·	· ·

fr. 30

2] . , flattened foot of descending oblique (λ?) ε . , upright then small trace at one-third
 height (another upright?): compatible with η . [, upright 4] . , dot at mid-height

fr. 31

· ·	· ·
] .	] η
] . c τ ω ι .	] ι c τ ω ι .
] υ .	] υ .
] .	] α
· ·	· ·

fr. 32

· ·	· ·
] . [] . [
] χ ν ι . [	] χ ν ι α [
] . c δ ι δ . [	] . c δ ι δ . [
· ·	· ·

fr. 31

The text runs across strips of vertical fibres, perhaps an ancient repair 1] . , foot of up-
 right, further to the right part of high horizontal, then small lacuna 2] . , upper half of upright
 4] . , top of gently descending oblique: α α or λ

fr. 32

1] . [, foot of upright 2] χ , right-hand half (too short for arms of κ) . [, angular nose
 of α 3] . , part of descending oblique or right arc . [, left part of oval-shaped letter, with
 horizontal join from the right at two-thirds height (ε?)

fr. 33

. .
] . ρκ . [
] . . ε [
] . ν [[ε]] i [
] η c o . [
 5 stripped
 stripped
] . . . [
] α μ α [
] . [
 . . .

fr. 34

. . .
] . [
] . π α [
] . . . [
 (m.2)] . π . [. . .] . ε c [
] . ν η ε . [] .

fr. 35

. . .
] . . [
] τ ο ν [
] κ α . [
] μ . [
] . ε [
] . [
 . . .

fr. 33

1] . , dot near line level . [, thick and confused traces 2] . , speck at mid-height;
 lower part of upright, followed by specks at mid-height 3] . , dot level with letter-tops
 4 . [, traces on a single fibre, apparently the junction of an upright and a cross-stroke at mid-height
 7] . . . [, downward arching horizontal like bridge of μ; damaged surface: contour of oblique letter
 with mid-stroke (ε?); oval letter open to the right: c? 9] . [, top of ascending oblique: κ x or γ

fr. 34

The papyrus strips used for the lower part of the top layer (from 7 downwards) are much whiter
 than those used for the upper part 1] . [, upright leaning to the right 3] . , foot of descend-
 ing oblique: α or λ 5] . . [, two specks of letter-feet 6] . , descending oblique: α or λ . [,
 angular junction near line level: α Δ or ω . [, foot of descending oblique: α λ or Δ 7] . ,
 right semicircle, probably ο . [, after ε dot near line level, not part of following letter: expunging
 dot? Then abraded surface: foot of upright and small horizontal trace at mid-height . [, high trace

fr. 35

1] . . [, foot of descender; foot of upright 3] . [, lower half of upright 4] . [, as-
 cending oblique perhaps with horizontal join from bottom right 5] . , dot level with letter-tops
 6] . [, tail of α or λ

fr. 36

. . .
 . [
 . [
 κ [
 τ [
 5 . [
 . . .

fr. 37

. . .
] . . [
] . α [
] β . [
] ι ζ [
] ε [
] . [
 . . .

fr. 38

. . .
] κ . [
] κ τ [
] . ν c . [
] . θ . [
] . [
 . . .

fr. 39

. . . .
] [
] κ ρ . [
] . ρ ν . [
] [

fr. 36

1 .[, η, ιτ or ιϕ 2 .[, γ or π 5 .[, α or Δ

fr. 37

1] .[, tip of ascending oblique, like second arm of Υ; γ or π 2] .[, κ or × 3]β .[, apparently upper loop and base of β, then upright 6] .[, high speck

fr. 38

1]κ .[, arms of κ (× less likely), then dot at line level 3] .[, tiny loop (P?) .[, low trace
4] .[, α or λ .[, thick blob (upper arc?) 5] .[, upper left-hand corner of γ or π

fr. 39

1] . . .[, horizontal at line level with suggestion of a slight ridge in the middle (ω?); bottom of ε or c; upright 2 .[, ω or λ 3] .[, small horizontal trace near mid-height (ε?) .[, ε or c
4] . . .[, upright; tips of eap and mid-stroke of ε(?); ε or c

fr. 40

. . .
α[
. [
ε[
θ . [
. . .

fr. 41

. . .
.[
.[
τ[
.[
. . .

fr. 42

. . .
]. η . [
]ον[
stripped
]. . α[
. . .

fr. 43

. . .
]α . [
]. α[
]. ιο[
]μ . [
. . .

fr. 40

2 .[, λ or × 4 .[, lower part of ascending oblique

fr. 41

1 .[, α Δ or ω 2 .[, λ or × 4 .[, small left arc

fr. 42

1] .[, junction of descending oblique and upright: η? .[, γ or π 4] . . .[, dot at around mid-height; oval letter?

fr. 43

1 .[, speck below line level 2] .[, upright 3] .[, right arc: ο or ρ 4 .[, thick top of descending oblique

fr. 44

. . .
]. μω . [
]. ης
]αγω[
. . .

fr. 45

. . .
]. . .[.] . . .[
]. ουκα[
. . .

fr. 46

. . .
]κ . [
]. . . ν[
]εοιεν[
. . .

fr. 44

1] . , upright (with join at top?) . [, descender 2] . , dot level with letter-tops

fr. 45

1] . . [(first), upright; lower half of circular letter: ο or θ] . . [(second), top of upright; thick dot 2] . , upright leaning to the right

fr. 46

This fragment is shown in the file photograph taped to fr. 1.3-5 in such a way that the first upright and central oblique of ν in fr. 46.3 join the end of the oblique and second upright of the second ν in fr. 1.5. This join, however, seems impossible as the trace before ϵ in fr. 1.4 does not have a counterpart in fr. 46.2 and the resulting $\alpha\mu\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\epsilon\nu$ in fr. 1.5 + 46.3 produces no recognizable word and would be unmetrical. 1] κ . [, bottom of κ , then foot of upright 2] . . . , semi-arc at line level; upright; two parallel uprights, the second with horizontal join from the left at two-thirds height: η ? 3 ρ , φ perhaps also possible

fr. 47

. . .
] . . . [.
] $\nu\sigma\tau$ [.
] . $\epsilon\theta\epsilon$ [.
. . .

fr. 48

. . .
] $\alpha\lambda$. [.
] $\zeta\nu\iota$ [.
] . . . [.
. . .

fr. 49

. . .
] . α [.
] $\nu\iota$ [.
] ν [.
. . .

fr. 50

. . .
] . . η . [.
] $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha$ [.
] $\pi\alpha\nu$ [.
. . .

fr. 47

1] . . . [, part of horizontal level with letter-tops; descender; foot of upright 2 τ [, left end of long horizontal level with letter-tops 3] . , top of upright or of ascending oblique with flattened end

fr. 48

1] . [, upright 3] . . . [, θ ο φ or ζ ; left half of η or $\iota\tau$; left-hand edge of high horizontal

fr. 49

1] . , upright with horizontal join from top left: π or μ

fr. 50

1] . . , foot of descender; another descender (perhaps] $\phi\rho\eta$) . [, dot at line level

fr. 51

. . .
] . . [.
] $\epsilon\delta\omega$ [.
] $\eta\tau\sigma$. [.
. . .

fr. 52

. . .
] $\nu\sigma$. [.
] $\iota\eta$. [.
] . . . [.
. . .

fr. 53

. . .
] . [.
] $\sigma\nu$. [.
] . μ [.
. . .

fr. 54

. . .
] . . [.
] . $\sigma\nu$ [.
] . ν . [.
. . .

fr. 51

1] . . [, descender; foot of upright 3] . [, angular junction at line level: λ or Δ

fr. 52

1] . [, c or ϵ 2] . [, high dot (a stop or descender from previous line?), then upright with join from top right (N?) 3] . . . [, letter-tops: dot; tip of upright; horizontal

fr. 53

1] . [, dot 2] . [, horizontal at line level with small (perhaps unintentional) vertical or oblique join in the middle 3] . , part of descending oblique or right arc

fr. 54

1] . . [, upright; small circle (o? lower loop of ν ?) 2] . , λ λ or Δ 3] . , dot level with letter-tops (top of upright?) . [, ϵ or θ

fr. 55

· ·
] . . ρ . [
] ν ε ι τ ο ι [
· ·

fr. 56

· ·
] . . [
κ λ α [
· ·

fr. 57

· ·
] . ν ω . [
] .
· ·

fr. 58

· ·
] κ [
] ν δ [
· ·

fr. 55

1] . . , bottom of λ or (less likely) κ ; ϵ or c . [, ascending oblique (x?)

fr. 56

1] . . [, traces on underlayer: upright with join from the right at one-third height; bottom of thick upright

fr. 57

1] . , specks at one- and two-thirds height . [, speck on edge 2] . , thick dot (a stop?) or end of ascending oblique followed by blank space

fr. 59

· ·
] ρ ε [
] . ε ν [
· ·

fr. 60

· ·
] τ η [
] ν ι ε [
· ·

fr. 61

· ·
] . . [
] ν ω ι . [
· ·

fr. 62

· ·
] π ι . [
· ·

fr. 59

2] . , thick upright or narrow oval letter

fr. 61

1] . . [, letter-feet: upright; dot 2] . [, dot on edge

fr. 62

. [, ascending oblique or upright leaning to the right

fr. 1

4 [. . .]. εεειν. Despite θαλασσε[at 3, the space seems too short for [επιλά]δεειν.

ύπω[. If not ύπ' ώ[, possibilities include ύπό[ρορε 'he/she roused' (PJP; in this position in *Od.* 24.62; cf. also *SH* 1029), a form of ύπόρεια 'the foot of a mountain', or a form of the adjective ύπόρροφιος '(dwelling) under the roof' (GBD'A, who compares in connection with χελιδόνος at 6 Theoc. 14.39 μάστακα δοίσα τέκνοιειν ύπόρροφίοιχι χελιδών, Antip. *AP* 10.2.3 πλάσσει μέν ύπόρροφα γυρά χελιδών / οίκία, Nonn. *D.* 2.133-4 χελιδών / φθειρομένη . . . ύπόρροφίης μέλος ήχοῦς).

5 έπικρατε[: either έπικρατέως or a form of the verb έπικρατέω. The forms έπικρατέουσι(ν) (dat. participle or 3rd pers. pl. pres. ind. act.) and έπικρατέωσι(ν) are always in this position (i.e. after the feminine caesura) in hexameters, while the adverb occurs in this metrical *sedes* only in *AR* 1.914.

6]νοιη[. . .]. The space would allow e.g. π]νοιή[ιχι]. MLW suggests e.g. οίη [τε] χελιδόνος εΐσα[το φωνή; cf. *Od.* 21.411 ή δ' ύπό καλόν άεισε, χελιδόνι εικέλη αύδήν.

7]δειχ[.]το θυμόν. At least three possibilities: 1) δ' εΐχ[ε]το, 2) -]δει χ[ύ]το, 3) (less likely) δ' εΐ χ[ύ]το. The first would imply that someone was seized with something continuously or habitually in his heart (understanding θυμόν as an accusative of respect); at the beginning of the line e.g. δέματι] or θαύματι] (MLW). The second and third possibilities would presuppose that something is poured (perhaps on the ground, οΐ]δει); in that case, it would be easier to take θυμόν with what follows despite expressions such as *AR* 2.97 του δ' άθρόος έκχυτο θυμός, 2.561 cύν δέ σφιν χύτο θυμός (in despondency), 3.1009 χύθη δέ οί ένδοθι θυμός (with love), where θυμός is always the grammatical subject.

8]ων κατὰ μήλα κίχεν. MLW suggests τήν δέ ι]δών κατὰ μήλα, 'and seeing her among the flocks' (alternatively τόν 'him' at the beginning of the line).

μήλα could theoretically correspond either to the word for 'small livestock' or that for 'apples' (Dor. μάλα). σταθμόν at 13 favours the first possibility; see 13 n. and cf. also 12 n. on θήλεια. The word denotes generally both sheep and goats, sometimes only sheep, and is often distinguished from cattle (βόες); see *LfggrE* s.v. μήλον I B for a rich collection of examples. *PMG* 562, allegedly going back to Simonides' *Europa*, and the adespota *SH* 1053, seem to apply the term μήλον/μήλα generically to all herds, including large cattle, but both fragments lack a proper context to evaluate their usage.

9 - ∞] ένθα και ένθα περιστρ[: περιστρεφ- or περιστρωφ-. The subject could be the person (or beast of prey?) who has just reached the flock in the previous line, or the members of the flock itself. The compound περιστρέφω in early epic is always active and transitive with the sense of 'wind/swing round' (see *LfggrE* s.v. στρέφω B.ii.8), but the expression ένθα και ένθα suggests that the verb here is in the middle voice and intransitive, indicating motion ('turn round to and fro, turn in circles'); cf. esp. *Il.* 24.5 έστρέφετ' ένθα και ένθα. MLW suggests e.g. ή δέ θάμ'] ένθα και ένθα περιστρ[έφετ' or περιστρ[ωφάτο.

10 - ~]μένη. The ending of the middle/passive participle would imply a female agent. Given the following μή, it is perhaps a verb of fearing or effort. MLW suggests e.g. σπερχο]μένη.

μή του μέν άπημ[. With the genitive pronoun του, it is tempting to restore άπήμ[βροτε(ν), the epic-Aeolic aorist form of άφαμαρτάνω; cf. *Il.* 8.119, 21.171 του μέν ρ' άφάμαρτεν, 15.521, 16.466 (αύ)του μέν άπήμβροτε(ν) (the form άπήμβροτ- recurs in *Il.* 16.477, Pancrates *GDRK* XV 2.ii.7). But although the verb would suit the bow-wielding Artemis (mentioned below, 14), an aorist indicative would be odd after μή (a subjunctive or an optative would be more in order), unless it describes an apprehension of something that happened in the past ('fearing that she missed him' sc. with her arrows). Other possibilities are άπήμ[ονος, άπημ[άντου (both not necessarily in the genitive), and άπ' ήμ[ατος. In these cases, the verb dependent on μή must have come at the end of the line or the beginning of the following one.

11 άπροφάτως. Both adjectival and adverbial forms are favourites of Apollonius Rhodius, ranging in sense from 'unforetold, unexpected' to 'unutterable, terrific'. The word appears to be a Hellenistic innovation. The adjective is first attested in Aratus (424, 768), the adverb in Apollonius

(i.1201 etc.; often in the same position as here, i.e. before the masculine caesura). The scribe wrote π in place of φ; for the phonetic interchange of the two letters in Roman Egypt, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 87. The second hand carried out the correction by adding two further strokes for the stem and the base of the loop of φ. Elsewhere letters are corrected above the line, but the narrow interlinear space would not accommodate φ, so the corrector has here followed a different procedure.

τὰ δέ: understand μῆλα? δέ perhaps responds to μέν in the preceding line.

12] . ημαθεοι. Some possible divisions are] . ημα θ' έοι,] . ημαθ' έοι,] . ημα θεοί,] . ημα θέοι (optative after μῆ τοῦ μέν . . . τὰ δέ . . . ?),] . η μάθε οί, but any choice is rendered difficult by the uncertainty of what follows; έοι and θεοί/θέοι would entail infringement of Meyer's Second Law, but this was 'far from being an absolute rule' (West, *Greek Metre* 155). The first trace is the end of a horizontal at line level and could represent the tip of λ or λ (λ is perhaps also possible; I take the unconnected upright above the trace to belong to a long descender from the previous line), e.g. ἄημα, δήλημα (*Od.* 12.286), κλήμα 'vine branch', πάλημα 'fine meal' (*Nic. Alex.* 551), πίλημα (*Call. Hec. fr.* 46, 65 Hollis), λήμα, φίλημα.

ποιε[πov]]κέτο. Before the correction one could read ποι έσποντο, but this would result in an unmetrical line and the enclitic ποι does not occur in hexameter poetry (cf. πη). The iterative form of ποιέω obtained after the correction is not otherwise attested in Greek poetry, but occurs in Herodotus in the form ποιέεκ-; a form with single epsilon (ποιέεκε) is also given by the early Byzantine grammarian Choeroboscus, *GG* IV.2 p. 144.11. In view of the drastic nature of the correction, ποιέεκετο could be merely a conjectural attempt by the second hand to restore sense to a heavily corrupt passage (was πov a copying error influenced by μov of σταθμόν in the following line? MLW also wonders whether the 'mess derives from variants πονέεκετο and ποιέεκετο'). Other corrections in these fragments do not seem to be *variae lectiones* (see introd.) and therefore cannot be taken to suggest that the corrector had access to a second copy of the text. If the correction is sound, it is notable that the poet uses two iterative forms (cf. 15 έξανίεκεν) so near one another; cf. also fr. 27.5 n.

θήλαα[: probably understand μῆλα. Female sheep and goats are usually separated from the males for milking; cf. *Od.* 9.237-8 αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' εἰς εὐρὺν σπέος ἤλασε πίονα μῆλα, / πάντα μάλ', ὅσ' ἤμελγε, τὰ δ' ἄρκενα λείπε θύρηφι (cf. 337-8), 438-9 νομόνδ' έξέεκυτο ἄρκενα μῆλα, / θήλειαι δέ μέμηκον ἀνήμελκτοι περὶ σηκού. Cf. also *Arat.* 1068 θήλεια δέ μῆλα. At the end of the line e.g. [δ' εἶδον.

13 - ∞] . ov. The letter after the break is ο or ρ. Perhaps μηλοσ]όον 'sheep-protecting', but the adjective is found elsewhere with -cc- (*Leonid. AP* 6.334.3 μηλοσκόε [of Pan], *Nonn. Par.* 10.28 θύρη μηλοσκόε).

] . ov πὰρ σταθμόν. This must refer to the herdsman/-woman's stead, which includes both the yard or enclosure in which the animals are kept (αὐλή) and the dwelling of the herdsman/-woman; see M. O. Knox, *CQ* 21 (1971) 27-31, and *LfggE* s.v. σταθμός. This particular σταθμός is perhaps connected to or identical with the cave mentioned in the following line, just like the Cyclops' cave in the *Odyssey* (cf. *Od.* 9.447-51 διὰ σπέος . . . σταθμόνδε; in *h. Merc.* 401 Hermes hides Apollo's stolen cattle παρὰ λάϊνον ἄντρον; in *Il.* 4.279 a shepherd ὑπό τε σπέος ἤλασε μῆλα during a storm). This may suggest a 'primitivist' setting. For a similar collocation of σταθμός with the preposition παρὰ in apocope, cf. *Od.* 14.32 πὰρ σταθμῶ (same *sedes*; παρὰ v.l.).

δρυο[. See introd.

14 θυόει. This form occurs only once in Homer (*Il.* 15.153 θυόεν νέφος) and thrice in *h. Cer.* 97, 318, 490, but becomes more common later, e.g. *Pind. fr.* 75.3, *Eur. Tr.* 1061, *Call. fr.* 229.15 Pf., *Ap.* 38, *Del.* 300, *Nic. Alex.* 239, etc. The adjective means generally 'fragrant' and could, but need not, refer specifically to the smoky odour of burnt sacrifice; see J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec* (1966) 118. It perhaps agrees with a word like βωμός (see 15 n.), as in *Pind. Pa.* 3.8-9 θυόε[ντα --] / βωμόν, *Eur. Tr.* 1061 θυόεντα βωμόν; MLW suggests placing the word at the beginning of the line, followed by δ'].

ἄντροιο. [~ - x. The final trace is τ or π. Restore e.g. π[άροιθεν, in analogy with AR 2.907 ἄντροιο πάροιθεν (said of χοροί; verse-end).

15 ξανίεσκεν. The movable ν has been correctly restored by the second hand to prevent hiatus with the following word. The iterative form of ξανίημι appears elsewhere only in AR 4.622. There it has 'smell' (ὀδμή) as its object; a similar object here would be suitable, especially given θύεις at 14 (see n.). The fragrant smell may be emanating from the cave itself (cf. Circe's cave, from whose hearth emanated the smell of cedar and burnt sacrifice, θύος, in *Od.* 5.59–61; *h. Hom.* 26.6 ἄντρον ἐν εὐώδει; in *h. Merc.* 231 an ὀδμή . . . ἰμερόεσσα wafts about (or perhaps from) the cave of Maia and Hermes; see Halliday and Sikes ad loc.), or from an altar in front of a cave and near the spring (cf. *H.* 23.147–8 παρ' αὐτόθι μῆλ' ἱερεύσειν / ἐς πηγάς, ὅθι τοι τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις; Hes. *Th.* 3–4; *Od.* 17.209–11).

ὑπὸ κρηπίδ[: κρηπίδ[ος, κρηπίδ[ι, or κρηπίδ[α; cf. Nonn. *D.* 13.403 ὑπὸ κρηπίδος ἀρούρης, 17.41 ὑπὸ κρηπίδα θεμέθλων, Paul. Silent. *Descr.* 148 ὑπὸ κρηπίδα βαλόντες, *Aph. Plan.* 422.1 ὑπὸ κρηπίδι ἐρείσας (all in the same position). Is the fragrance or the water of the spring imagined as surging from under the 'foundation of the earth', i.e. from underground (cf. Leonid. *AP* 6.334.1–2 αἴθ' ὑπὸ πέτρῃ / πίδακες; *Od.* 9.141 κρήνη ὑπὸ σπέιους)? PJP wonders whether κρηπίδ['might refer to the edge of the basin in which the water collects'.

16 ἰο(ε)ιδὲς ὕδωρ ἀνεβάλλετο. This phrase appears to be a reworking of and allusion to Callimachus fr. 546 Pf. (incert. sed.): κρήνη / λευκὸν ὕδωρ ἀνέβαλλεν. If this is the case, the substitution of ἰοειδὲς for λευκὸν and of the active with the passive voice would be a good example of *oppositio in imitando* so characteristic of Hellenistic poetry. ἰοειδής is a Homeric epithet that always qualifies the sea in the formula ἰοειδέα πόντον (cf. also Hes. *Th.* 844), but Hesiod also applies it to a spring in *Th.* 3 κρήνην ἰοειδέα. Since the adjective was glossed as the equivalent of μέλας in antiquity (e.g. Hesych. ι 734 Latte s.v. ἰοειδής), its application to the ὕδωρ of a spring here can be seen both as an allusion to the Hesiodic locus and as a recherché variation of the Homeric formula μέλαν ὕδωρ (cf. also the formula κρήνη μελάνυδρος). For springs by caves, cf. again the description of Circe's cave in *Od.* 5.70–71; *Od.* 9.140–41 ῥέει ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ, / κρήνη ὑπὸ σπέιους; Theoc. 7.136–7 ἱερὸν ὕδωρ / Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε; Leonid. *AP* 6.334.1–2; [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.39 ψυχρὸν δ' ἐξ ἄντροιο προχεύμενον ἄργυρον ὕδωρ.

π[- x: e.g. π[ηγῆς or π[έτρης. MLW suggests e.g. π[άντηι or π[ουλύ.

17 ἐπισταδόν: an adverb characteristic of the *Odyssey* (12.392, 13.54, 16.453, 18.425) re-employed only by Apollonius Rhodius (1.293, 2.84, 4.1687). It was understood in antiquity to mean 'standing at/by' (ἐφεστηκώς) and by extension 'in turn, successively', but was sometimes misinterpreted to mean 'skilfully' (ἐπιστημόνως, ἐμπείρως); see A. Heubeck on *Od.* 16.453, A. Rengakos, *Apollonios Rhodios und die antike Homererklärung* (1994) 89, and F. Vian on AR 4.1687. The word always occurs in this position, that is, after the feminine caesura.

δο]λόμη[τι]ν . . . Ἐρμ[άωνα. Cf. *h. Merc.* 405 δολομήτα (vocative < δολομήτης), said of Hermes in the same metrical *sedes*. Hermes is the trickster god par excellence and is often associated with the semantic fields of μῆτις and δόλος; to cite examples only from *h. Merc.*: 13 αἰμυλομήτην, 66 ὀρμαίνων δόλον αἰπύν, 76 δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης, 155, 514 ποικιλομήτα, 282 δολοφραδές, 319 πολύμητις, 348 μῆτιν ἔχων, 361 δολοφροσύνην ἀλεγύνων; see more generally L. Kahn, *Hermès passe, ou Les Ambiguïtés de la communication* (1978) 75–83. If the epithet δολομήτης is significant, we would expect Hermes to appear in his capacity as trickster in this passage; see introd. The mention of Hermes not long after the occurrence of μῆλα is also significant, for he was a patron deity of shepherds and could himself be represented as one; in addition to the examples cited in the introduction, cf. *h. Merc.* 2, 232, 314, 570–71, Hes. *Th.* 444–7, Sem. fr. 20 W., Ar. *Th.* 977, Paus. 9.22.1, 34.3; see G. Siebert, *LIMCV*.1 310–15, for artistic representations of Hermes as shepherd and as κριοφόρος, and cf. A. Athanassakis, *Eranos* 87 (1989) 33–49, and S. Eitrem, *RE* VIII 775.

Ἐρμ[άωνα. I restore this form rather than Ἐρμ[ῆν or Ἐρμ[εῖην as the former would produce

an unusual verse-end with two separate spondaic words, while the latter would leave a difficult final monosyllable. The form first occurs in Hes. fr. 64.17, 137.1, 150.31 M.-W., then in Bion fr. 10.8 Gow and several Imperial-period poets (Ps.-Manetho, Colluthus, Nonnus, etc.; cf. J. D. Reed on Bion fr. 10.8). For the alternative possibility that *δολόμετην* refers not to Hermes himself but to one of his sons (supplementing *Ἑρμ[εῖαο* at the end of the line), see introd.

fr. 2

Metrical position: mostly parts of the fourth and fifth feet (the stop after dactyl in 6 should follow the fourth foot, since other lines show that the first foot is excluded).

1]ρονος ἴκετο. Cf. the collocations in *Il.* 11.466 *ταλασίφρονος ἴκετο*, *Od.* 8.13 = *h. Cer.* 96 *δαΐφρονος ἴκετο*, on the analogy of which perhaps restore a compound in -φρονος (cf. also *Or. Sib.* 3.117 *χρόνος ἴκετο γήρωσ*). MLW suggests *παράφ]ρονος ἴκετο λύ[σσης*; cf. *Bacch.* 11.102-3 *λύσσαι πάρφρονος*. WBH points to the possibility of restoring ἴκετ' Ὀλυ[μπον; cf. *Hes. Sc.* 471 *ἔξίκετ' Οὐλύμπόν τε μέγαν*.

2]ατ' αἰθέρος: e.g. κ]ατ' αἰθέρος. At the beginning of the line e.g. ἦ τε καταΐξασα (MLW).

ἦύτε [: supply e.g. *λαῖλαψ* (GBD'A; cf. *Opp. Hal.* 2.587 *ἦύτε λαῖλαψ*), *πέμφιξ* (MLW); for another possible mention of a storm, cf. fr. 12.2 n.

3]ερας. Metre excludes *κρατ]εράς*, *ἀμφοτ]ερας*, *έτ]ερας*, *θυγατ]ερας*. Perhaps *ἀν]ερας*.

ἐμπλήξα]. The usual form of this verb in Homer and hexameter epic generally is *ἐνιπλη-*; for the present form, cf. *Arat.* 423 *ἐμπλήξῃ*, 750 *ἐμπλήσσει*, *AR* 1.1203 *ἐμπλήξασα*, 2.602 *ἐμπλήξασαι*. In the first and third of these examples, the verb characterizes a tempest 'striking' a ship; cf. 2 n. The form here is probably a *spondeiazon*, e.g. *ἐμπλήξα[ca* agreeing with *λαῖλαψ* or *πέμφιξ* at the end of 2.

1-3 Combining some of the above suggestions one may partially reconstruct these lines as follows:

- ∞ - ∞ - ∞ παράφ]ρονος ἴκετο λύ[σσης,
 ἦ τε καταΐξασα κ]ατ' αἰθέρος ἦύτε [λαῖλαψ
 - ∞ - ∞ - ∞ ἀν]ερας ἐμπλήξα[ca

4 ἀμφιδετωι: either *ἀμφὶ δὲ τῶι* (GBD'A) or *ἀμφιδέτωι*, the latter a rare adjective attested in poetry only in *Philip. AP* 6.103.2, where it describes 'bow-drills with cords at each end' (Gow and Page), and *Greg. Naz. Carm.* 2.2.7.161 (*PG* 37.1563), qualifying figuratively *λόγον*. With the former articulation supply at verse-end e.g. *κλα[ιοντ-* or *κλα[ιουσ-* (trissyllabic *spondeiazontes* are relatively uncommon, however; cf. West, *Greek Metre* 154 with n. 48), with the latter e.g. *κλα[δεῶνι* (cf. *Leonid. AP* 9.78.3, [*Orph.*] *Arg.* 925, and fr. 19.4 κ]λάδον(?), 56.2 κλα[]).

5 *κεκορηότα*]. The perfect active participle of *κορέννυμι* always has a passive sense ('glutted, satiated'); see LSJ s.v., and cf. *Od.* 18.372 *κεκορηότε*, *Colluth.* 119 *κεκορηότες*, *Nonn. D.* 5.34 *κεκορηότι*.

6 *φρένας ἀμφι*]. The stop, inserted by a second hand, suggests that this is not the Homeric formula *φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν* (*Il.* 6.355, *Od.* 8.541) or *φρένας ἀμφὶ μελαίνας* (*Il.* 17.83, etc.).

7]αει κ' ἦσι. The lack of aspiration indicated by the elision κ' implies that this is the third person singular subjunctive of *εἶμι* (cf. *Od.* 8.580, etc.) rather than the possessive pronoun *ἦσι*. A curved oblique trace descends from the right-hand side of the last iota at two-thirds height; it does not seem to be a cancelling stroke (cancellation being usually marked by an ascending oblique) and may be just a stray mark. The division]α εἶ is metrically impossible, since alpha is part of the princeps syllable and needs to be long. GBD'A notes that 'if this is the end of the line, infringement of Naeke's law might have been avoided if an ending in -εῖ (purely e.g. *δυσαεῖ*, *ἀκραεῖ*) was meant (though in this case I would have expected a trema: cf. fr. 12.2)'. WBH proposes] ἀεῖ κ(λ)ῆσι μελάθ[ρων.

8 κ]ιδήρειον. The adjective *δηρείος* (< *δῆρις* 'strife') is a less likely possibility; it is attested only by grammarians and etymologica and, as GBD'A points out, it would be metrically difficult: 'if the last syllable of *δηρείον* occupies the 5th longum, *δηρείον* (if not preceded by a prepositive

monosyllabic word) would produce a highly undesirable δίχα τομή' (division of the hexameter into two equal halves).

γελ[: presumably a word denoting laughter (forms in γέλω- are metrically impossible); alternatively γ' ελ[(GBD'A) or γε λ[(WBH).

9 ἄπαν ἤτορ: unparalleled collocation.

10 ἐχένα[: ἔχεν α[or ἔχε να[.

fr. 3

col. i

5]ρηαι: probably the ending of a 2nd pers. sg. mid. verb, which would imply direct speech; cf. at the end of the verse ἄρηαι in *Il.* 16.84, Hes. *Op.* 632, *Scut.* 107, and ὄρηαι in *Od.* 14.343, *Oechaliae Halosis* fr. 1 Bernabé.

col. ii

2 κ. . . The traces are compatible with e.g. ἱκτο.

3 ἦχι κο. [. The trace before the break is an upright. GBD'A notes the possible coincidence with Call. *Hec.* fr. 62 Hollis = fr. 328 Pf. ἦχι κονίστραι (verse-end), referring to the wrestling ground of Cercyon (the Eleusinian robber slain by Theseus); see also below, 10 n.

4 ε[.]ταδ[. There are various possibilities, e.g. ε[π]τὰ δ[, ε[κ]ταδ[(MLW), ε[´]τ' αδ[(GBD'A; cf. fr. 5.9); the gap seems too wide for iota, e.g. ε[ι]τα δ[, ε[ι] τὰδ[ε.

5 Τάμμα[. Restore nominative Τάμμα[ς, dative Τάμμα[ι, or accusative Τάμμα[ν. The name is attested only in Callimachus fr. 49 Pf. in the genitive (Τάμμεω θυγατέρος). The sources for the fragment explain the name as equivalent to Ἀθάμας, e.g. *Et. Gud.* s.v. ταφών p. 522 Sturz: οἱ αὐτοὶ (sc. Ἴωνες) δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀθάμας κατ' ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ α καὶ διπλασιασμῶ τοῦ μ καὶ τροπή τοῦ θ εἰς τὸ τ Τάμμας λέγουσι. For a comparable aphacresis, cf. Call. fr. 751 Pf. (Κιδαλίης for Ἀκιδαλίης), and on 'expressive gemination' in Greek hypocoristic names, see O. Masson, *Onomastica graeca selecta* i–ii (1990) 259–66 and 549–61 (these articles, however, do not cite or discuss the name Τάμμας). For another unusual form of the name Ἀθάμας in hexameter, cf. the a-stem Doric genitive form Ἀθάμα in Hes. fr. 69 M.–W., on which see M. L. West in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *Esiodo, cent'anni di papiri* (2008) 30. The context of Callimachus' fragment within the second book of the *Aetia* is unknown (Pfeiffer notes ad loc. that Athamas is also the name of the founder of Teos); on the complex mythology surrounding Athamas, see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (1993) 176–80. A personal name Τάμμαρος is known from a couple of inscriptions from Sicily (see *LGPN* III.A s.v.), but its presence here is unlikely.

6 τοῦ δε[. τοῦ δέ is a frequent collocation at verse-beginning; τοῦδε (in this position at *Od.* 17.371 and *Epica adespota* fr. 1.2 Powell) would be possible only within direct speech.

8 ἄψα. The plural of ἄψος usually means 'limbs'; see LSJ + Suppl. s.v. ἄψος. The word occurs in this position in Nic. *Th.* 332 (ἄψα δέ), Opp. *H.* 2.294, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.259, 280.

9 η[.]αρ. Possibilities include ἦ [δ'] ἄρ' (MLW), ἦ [γ]άρ, ἦ[μ]αρ, ἦ[π]αρ. There appears to be a trace of a lectional sign above the following omicron (smooth breathing or accent).

10 ῥίψε[. This is probably an iotacist spelling of ῥίψε(ν) (frequently at the verse-beginning), ῥίψει (*Il.* 24.735), or ῥίψειν (Hes. fr. 54a.5 M.–W., with the same spelling in XXVIII 2495 fr. 1.5); the final trace is the foot of an upright and is compatible with all of these possibilities. In connection with Athamas (5), the verb could refer e.g. to his wife Ino throwing herself with their son Melicertes into the sea to escape Athamas' murderous rage (*Apoll. Bibl.* 1.9.2 Ἴνὸ δὲ Μελικέρτην μεθ' ἑαυτῆς εἰς πέλαγος ἔρριψεν [cf. also 3.4.3], Paus. 1.44.7 αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν Ἴνὸ ῥίψαι Μελικέρτην ἔχουσα; a female subject could have been mentioned in the previous line if one restores ἦ [δ'] ἄρ') or the version in which Phrixus and Helle, Athamas' children by Nephele, are thrown into the sea (before being saved by a ram) rather than sacrificed (Schol. in Hes. *Th.* 993a ἐν θαλάσῃ ῥιφέντες Φρίξος καὶ Ἑλλη). In

connection with the former possibility, GBD'A notes that 'the Molouris rock on the coast between Megara and Corinth (more usually associated with Sciron, another of Theseus' early adversaries, often mentioned together with Cercyon), from which Ino leapt into the sea fleeing Athamas, and Cercyon's *κονίστραι* (possibly alluded to in v. 3?), on the road from Eleusis to Megara, are not far away from each other (cf. e.g. Paus. 1.39.3 and 1.44.7–8) and might conceivably have been mentioned within the same context (though too little remains and the connection may well be a false trail)'.

fr. 4 col. ii

3 τὸν δὲ το[. Alternatively τόνδε το[in direct speech (cf. 8 n.); cf. τὸν δέ / τόνδε τοι at the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 13.467, *Od.* 11.101, AR 4.30.

4 ἄρ[η]ῖα. The scribe wrote the unmmetrical accusative form of Ἄρης (Ἄρηα), but a second hand corrected it to the alternative and generally later form of the accusative (Ἄρεα). The form Ἄρεα does not occur in epic poetry before Apollonius Rhodius (1.1024; cf. Soph. *OT* 190) and is attested at the beginning of the verse only in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*. It is unclear whether the god (Ἄρεα) or war (-spirit) (ἄρεα) is meant here.

κητ[: presumably a form of, or word related to, κῆτος or κητώεις. GBD'A points out the additional possibilities of a form of the ethnic Κῆτ[εῖοι, a Homeric *hapax* denoting the Mysians (see A. Heubeck on *Od.* 11.521), or, less likely, the crasis κῆτ[ι (cf. Call. *epigr.* 51.2 Pf.).

5 πότνια. The adjective appears at the beginning of the verse in Hes. *Th.* 926 (Athena), *h. Cer.* 54, 492 (Demeter), *h. Ven.* 24 (Hestia), *h. Hom.* 30.6 (Ge), *Alcmaeonis* fr. 3 Bernabé (Ge), Theoc. 18.27 (Night), and often in Callimachus' hymns.

6 νῦν μοι. At the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 8.186, QS 12.221.

8 / Δ αἶμα πε[. Cf. *Od.* 9.388 αἶμα περίρρεε (different position). The diagonal stroke and the antisigma are common critical signs in papyri and could serve various functions; for their significance, see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (1992) 14–15, 17–18. The indication of direct discourse in 6 (μοι) and perhaps 5 (if πότνια is a vocative) could suggest that the diagonal stroke marks the end of the speech, as it often does; but the presence of another μοι at 11 (cf. also the possible demonstrative τῶιδε in 12) does not commend this hypothesis, unless another speech has begun in the intervening lines.

9 νῖα κομ[. Cf. νῖα κομίζων (verse-end) in Nonn. *D.* 9.146, 24.121 (based perhaps on Triph. 258 γυνῖα κομίζων).

11 οὐ μοι χα[. The mention of Ares in 4 may suggest reading μοιχά[γρια ('fine for adultery'), the Homeric *hapax* of *Od.* 8.332 that occurs in the context of the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite, but nothing else in this fragment encourages this line of interpretation.

12 τῶιδε. The division τῶι δέ is also possible. The demonstrative would sit well in direct speech (cf. 8 n.). The iota adscript was added by the second hand, perhaps in order to avoid confusion with τῶιδε / τῶ δέ.

fr. 5

2 τῇ ἐτέρῃ [: probably understand χειρῖ; cf. 7 ἄμφω χερσ[ί(ν)]. The phrase τῇ (δ') ἐτέρῃ often occurs at the beginning of the verse in Homer (cf. esp. *Od.* 22.183 τῇ ἐτέρῃ μὲν χειρῖ); likewise in AR 4.223.

5 πρέμνω[: πρέμνω (in this position in AR 3.157, DP 829) or πρέμνω[ν (at verse-beginning in *h. Merc.* 238).

6 στῆε κερα[. Possibly restore κέρα[ς, perhaps referring to a drinking horn (LSJ s.v. III.3); cf. πῖνεν below (10). For the placement of the word in this *sedes*, with the last syllable lengthened by position, cf. *Il.* 23.780 (στῆ δὲ κέρας), Opp. *Hal.* 2.136, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.475, and Nonnus (often). Alternatively κερα[σσάμενος *vel sim.* (MLW).

7 ἄμφω χερσ[ί(ν)] (or χέρσ' [, WBH). The phrase recurs in this position in AR 1.1169; cf. already

h. Cer. 15 χερσὶν ἄμ' ἄμφω (verse-end), the first use of the form ἄμφω as a dative (see N. J. Richardson ad loc.).

9 εὖτ' ἀναπα[. The division εὖτ' ἂν ἀπαυ[τα (*vel sim.*), with a verb in the subjunctive later in the line, does not recommend itself because of the imperfect indicative πῖνεν in the following line (10). Whether the latter verb belongs to the temporal clause itself ('when he/she drank . . .') or its apodosis ('when he/she did so-and-so [perhaps with a compound verb in ἀνα- and in tmesis], he/she drank . . .') is unclear, but both possibilities preclude reading εὖτ' ἂν. The first three letters could alternatively be divided εὖ τ' (MLW). The last trace is an upright leaning to the right (not upsilon, excluding e.g. ἀναπαυ[)

10 πῖνεν ἐπιχ[[: probably a form of the verb ἐπίχω. PJP points to AR 1.472-3 ἦ καὶ ἐπιχόμενος πλεῖον δέπας ἀμφοτέρησι / πῖνε χαλίκρητον λαρὸν μέθυ; cf. also Stesich. *PMGF* S19 δέπας . . . / πῖ' ἐπιχόμενος. The adverb ἐπιχ[ερώ ('in turn, one after another') would require an undesirable correction at the end of the second foot and would result in a rare rhythm (cf. West, *Greek Metre* 155).

11 εἰς πλεόν. Cf. Nic. *Theor.* 216 εἰς πλεόν 'even more'. This is presumably a variation of the expression ἐπὶ πλεόν (cf. also Soph. *OT* 700, 918, *OC* 1219), which is better attested among poets of the Hellenistic and imperial periods. The first trace might also allow εἰς πλεόν.

fr. 6

Metrical position: parts of the second and third feet (feminine caesura possible after οἰκτρο[ε in 5) or more likely of the fifth and sixth feet (with πεφόρη[το, ὑψικέρης β[οῦ, α]ἰόλος οἰκτρο[ε, and π]ολλὰ δον[ήσας at verse-end).

2]πελεθρα[: πέλεθρα 'furlongs' (or a compound) or πέλεθρα[. In its two Homeric instances (*Il.* 21.407, *Od.* 11.577) the measure πέλεθρα expresses the size of superhuman figures (Ares, Tityos), but it could also be used more prosaically (cf. Arat. 209, Antip. *AP* 9.282.6, QS 11.158).

3 πεφορη[. The perfect of φορέω does not occur in hexameter epic before Apollonius Rhodius (1.184, 2.587, 932 πεφόρητο; 2.962 πεφορημένοι).

4 ὑψικέρ[[ω]]ή' β[. The adjective ὑψικέρως usually qualifies a horned animal (cf. *Od.* 10.158 ~ Nonn. *D.* 10.54 ὑψικέρων ἔλαφον, Soph. *Tr.* 507-9 ὑψικέρω . . . ταύρου, Bacch. 16.22 ὑψικέραν βοῦν), although it could also be used metaphorically (Pind. fr. 325 ὑψικέρατα πέτραν). The example of Bacchylides just cited and the mention of an οἰκτρος in the following line suggest restoring ὑψικέρης β[οῦ here. For the genitive form βοῦ, cf. Aesch. fr. 421 and Soph. fr. 280 Radt. The scribe first wrote the commoner and gender-less genitive ὑψικέρω, which he then corrected to the feminine genitive by-form ὑψικέρης; for the formation, cf. Bacch. 16.22 ὑψικέραν, 19.24 καλλικέραν δάμαλιν, and see F. Sommer, *Zur Geschichte der griechischen Nominalkomposita* (1948) 20 n. 1, and A. J. Nussbaum, *Head and Horn in Indo-European* (1986) 154. The replacement of the rarer by the commoner form probably arose from a marginal note in the scribe's exemplar: compare XXVI 2450 fr. 1 iii 11 (Pind. fr. 169a.50), where the presumably feminine accusative plural καλλικέρας is accompanied by a marginal annotation indicating that -ρως is meant. The restoration of nominative ὑψικέρης β[οῦς is less compelling. The form ὑψικέρης has weak authority, being attested only by Choeroboscus, *GG* IV.1 p. 166.6 (cf. Nussbaum, *Head and Horn* 155), and the manner of the correction (ὑψικέρ[[ω]]ή' instead of ὑψικέρ[[ω]]ή'ς) would be rather odd. (I owe much of the preceding discussion to WBH.)

Verses with a final monosyllable typically conform to the rhythm ∪ | - ∪ - | - ||; see West, *Greek Metre* 156.

5 α]ἰόλος οἰκτρο[ε. An exact echo of *Od.* 22.300, where the expression occurs in a simile and is said of the gadfly that drives cows (βόες) mad in spring. The adjective αἰόλος applied to the gadfly presumably denotes rapid movement rather than gleaming appearance.

6] . λα δον[. κελαδον- does not suit the traces. Since an οἰκτρος is mentioned in the previous line, we are perhaps dealing with a form of δονέω 'stir, agitate, drive in confusion', e.g. δον[ήσας at

verse-end (= *Il.* 12.157); cf. again *Od.* 22.300 αἰόλος οἴστρος ἐφορμηθεὶς ἐδόνησεν, and the Nonnian phrase δεδονημένος οἴστρον. Before δον[perhaps π]ολλά.

fr. 7

Metrical position: feminine caesura possible after ν]εβροῖο in 3 and] καίροντος in 4.

2 προμολο[: probably an aorist form of προβλώσκω 'to go/come forth' (πρόμολον, προμολόντ-, προμολουσ-).

3 ν]εβροῖο. This genitive form is attested only in Nic. *Theo.* 578. It is interesting that the latter instance occurs in conjunction with a 'youthful hare' (577) that is qualified as κίνακος (gen.), a rare adjective glossed as κικριθητικοῦ by the schol. ad loc.; cf. 4 καίροντος.

πέλωρ[. Whether a form of πέλωρ, πελώριος or πέλωρος, a word denoting great size or prodigiousness is unlikely to apply to a fawn and so probably does not agree with ν]εβροῖο (in *Od.* 10.168 πελώρου characterizes the ὑψίκερων ἔλαφον μέγαν [158] hunted by Odysseus, but an ἔλαφος is qualitatively distinct from the young νεβρός). The adjective perhaps qualifies the being approaching the fawn, which is often a victim of predators in Homeric similes (see C. Moulton, *Similes in the Homeric Poems* [1977] 78–9).

4] καίροντος. When applied to animals the verb is usually said of calves (see LSJ s.v. καίρω), but here it probably agrees with ν]εβροῖο in the previous line; cf. DP 843–4 παρθενικαί, νεοθηλέες οἰά τε νεβροί, / καίρουσιν, *Him. Oe.* 25.78 κικριτώντα δὲ . . . νεβρόν. A compound of καίρω is possible.

ἀτα[: e.g. ἀτά[ρ, ἀτα[λλ- (MLW).

fr. 8

7]φρη[: e.g. τε]φρη(ι) 'ash', which is almost always at verse-end (e.g. *Il.* 18.25, 23.251, *Arat.* 1037, *Euph.* fr. 70.3 Lightfoot, Nic. *Theo.* 173). Alternatively ἐλα]φρή (GBD'A).

10 πόντου. Cf. fr. 1.3 θαλασσ[.

11 κοῦρης[: frequently at verse-end in hexameter. κοῦρης[is perhaps also possible. κοίτης[is unlikely, for neither ι nor τ usually descends so low.

12] αιτη[. The first trace is probably κ, χ, or γ. Possibly a form of χαιτή (frequently at verse-end).

fr. 9

2] λακ[. If the upright with the apparent join from the top left is interpreted as eta, 'the most obvious supplement would be θυ]ηλάκ, which would fit well with the act of praying apparently described in v. 4, though other alternatives are theoretically possible (e.g. ἰήλακ)' (GBD'A).

3 γυίου. Given the genitive, the preceding word is perhaps ἀπ]ό, unless we are dealing with a rare compound like Oppian's ὀβριμόγυιον (*Hal.* 1.360, 5.316; cf. Sappho fr. 110.1 Voigt ἐπτορόγυιοι (< ὀρόγυια), *Pind.* *Ol.* 9.111 δεξιόγυιον, *Nem.* 7.4 ἀγλαόγυιον, [*Theoc.*] *Syrinx* 16 λαρνακόγυιε). In poetry γυία appears in the singular only in *Pind.* *Nem.* 7.73, *Theoc.* 22.121 (referring specifically to the 'hand' or 'fist' and likewise at verse-end), Nic. *Theo.* 777 ('limb'), and Philip. *AP* 6.101.8; in Pindar and perhaps also Philip, the word designates the whole body, as is often the case among medical writers.

4 χείρας ὀρεγνύ[: a Homeric verse-end formula occurring at *Il.* 1.351, 22.37 (cf. 24.743 χείρας ὀρεξας). The gesture of outstretched arms typically accompanies a prayer or entreaty; see G. S. Kirk on *Il.* 1.351, and cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (1985) 75.

6] μὲν ἔπειτ[: often at verse-end in Homer; cf. also AR 4.950, Opp. *Hal.* 3.392, 4.388.

7] ενοσσ[. Divide]ενος c[(e.g. -μ]ενος c[(ευ) or more likely]εν ὄσσ[οις vel sim. (MLW).

fr. 10

1] ηω[: ἦώ[ε at verse-end (MLW)?

2 ὄ]ττι φ[. Cf. at verse-end *Il.* 22.73 ὄττι φανήη, Antim. fr. 21.2 Wyss ὄττι φέριςτον.

3]αειει[. As these are verse-ends, the divisions -αει νει- (e.g. νείειθαι) and -αειν ει- (e.g. εἶναι) seem more likely than the forms ἀειεῖ (dat. sg.) or ἀειεῖς (nom. pl.) < ἀειής 'unharméd', which would leave a final monosyllable.

5 ὄ]νειαρ: frequently at verse-end. 'In the singular the word seems . . . in early epic to be used often to describe gods or their gifts' (N. J. Richardson on *Il.* 22.433).

6] . νάγεεθα[ι:] ν ἄγεεθα[ι (often at verse-end) or] ἀνάγεεθα[ι. The compound verb ἐνάγω 'to induce' is exclusively prosaic.

9]ηβη[; if not]η βη[, possibly a form of ἦβη or Θήβη.

fr. 11

Metrical position: verse-ends.

1 ἀ]κάνθαξ. The word is virtually always placed at the end of the verse in hexameter epic.

2] . λοψα[. If the word is at the end of the verse (see preceding n. and cf. 5), restore ὀλόψα[ξ, as in Nic. *Theor.* 550, 595. The purely poetic verb ὀλόπτω is not attested before Callimachus (*Dian.* 77 ὠλοψαξ, fr. 573 Pf. ὠλόψατο) and recurs in Euphorion, Nonnus, and Antipater of Sidon (see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 573 for references; Euph. is now *SH* 415.ii.16 = fr. 26 Lightfoot). It usually applies to the tearing out of hair, but ἀ]κάνθαξ in 1 suggests that the stripping off of a plant or flower may be more appropriate here, just as in Nicander's passages, where the objects are respectively ἔρνος 'shoot' (of a plant) and ἦτρον 'pith' (of a reed). Nonnus nicely combines both usages in *D.* 40.104 ὠλοψεν . . . βότρυν ἐθείρης.

4]ννη[. 'There are not too many possibilities, the most obvious ones being probably Μι]νύ-η[(ι)αι (the adjective is normally scanned Μι]νύη- in epic poetry), interesting for its possible connection with Athamas (fr. 3), and τα]νύη[κ-, followed at a distance by forms of ἰγνύη-, δαινύη- (both with a spondaic verse), μιμνύη(ιαι?) and Ἐννῆος (the articulation -]ν νη[-, with forms of the very rare nouns/epithets Ὑηττός and Ὑης, or a subjunctive of the verb ὕω, seems a remote possibility too)' (GBD'A).

fr. 12

1 πρε[. If the passage describes the effect of a storm on trees (see following note), perhaps a form of πρέμων; cf. fr. 5.5 πρέμων[.

2 ζαχραεῖ. The form ζαχραής/ζαχρειής occurs only in Nic. *Theor.* 290 ζαχραεῖς (v.l.) θλιφθείσα, Dionysius *Bassarica* fr. 20v.1 Livrea ζαχραεός ὄ[ρμηξ, and as a gloss in Hesychius ζ 80 Latte (ζαχραεῖς· ἐξαπιναιόους); see E. Livrea, *Dionysii Bassaricon et Gigantiadis fragmenta* (1973) 67–8. As Livrea notes, the form is presumably an etymological interpretation of the Homeric adjective as ζαχρ- + ἀής, since it most often describes the raging of winds (e.g. *Il.* 5.525; AR 1.1095, 1159, 3.321, 4.835; Opp. *Hal.* 1.221; sometimes also metaphorically the impetuous movement of warriors: *Il.* 12.347 = 360, 13.684). MLW suggests restoring ζαχραεῖ θ[υίεν ἀέλληι; cf. Hes. *Th.* 874 κακῆ θυίουσιν ἀέλλη (verse-end), imitated by DP 677 κακῆ θυίοντες ἀέλλη, QS 3.704 θοῆ θύοντα ἀέλλη.

fr. 13

2] λύγδη[ν: 'with sobs', < λύζω. This adverb was previously known only from Soph. *OC* 1621 (cf. also *AP* 15.28.4 by Anastasius Traulus of the early 10th century). The final upright is off-centre and so unlikely to be iota, which would exclude a form of λυγδίνεος/λύγδινος 'of white marble', otherwise attested only in epigrammatists and some other late writers (see LSJ s.vv.). Note that a gloss of Hesychius (λ 1329 Latte) attests a noun λύγδη meaning 'white poplar' (τὸ δένδρον, ἢ λεύκη); cf. δέ]νδρον in fr. 19.3. There was also apparently a place called Λύγδη (Ps.-Zon. s.v.). λυγδο[cannot be read.

fr. 14

Metrical position: probably verse-beginnings given the good left-hand alignment and the suggestion of new clauses in 2, 3, 4, and 6 (MLW).

2 τοῦδ[: τοῦ δ(έ)/δῆ or (if in direct speech) τοῦδδ(έ).

3 ἔνθα κα[: perhaps ἔνθα καὶ [ἔνθα, as in fr. 1.9.

4]τω[: probably the dual article τῶ rather than τῶ; cf. 5 ἀντέεθην.

ἀμυ[: e.g. ἀμυ[δικ (cf. fr. 18.3), but there are various other possibilities (see for example the following note).

5 ἀντέεθην: 3rd person dual imperfect of ἄντομαι; cf. *Il.* 7.22 *συναντέεθην*. This poetic variant of ἀντ(ι)άω can have a confrontational sense ('meet in battle') in epic (see LSJ s.v.); cf. especially AR 2.69 ἀντιόωντες, of the boxing contest between Polydeuces and Amycus (Ἄμυ[κ- in 4?).

6]ῆτοιφ. If this is the beginning of the verse, divide as ῆτοι φ, a frequent collocation in this position in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 1.68, 4.537, etc.). Otherwise a genitive ending, e.g. *κασιγν]*ῆτοιφ. After γ', ἱα[(e.g. ῆτοι φ γ' ἱα[χε(ν)) or ἱδ[.

8]ωμεντ[: probably articulate φ̣ μ̣εν τ[(cf. *Il.* 24.529), without iota adscript.

fr. 15

Metrical position: if one accepts the supplements εἶμα,]άμ[β]αλα, and χ]ρυσ[ε]ίην in 5-7, these lines would be perfectly aligned and may represent the beginnings of verses (cf. also 4 n.).

4]ἱδ[ε]ἰν[. After the correction read e.g. ῆν] ἱδ' ἴν[, 'whom he/she saw where . . .' (MLW).

5]εἶμαμε[: either δ]εἶμαμεν- 'building' (cf. AR 2.928 *δειμάμενοι*, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.121 *ἐπιδειμάμενοι*) or]εἶμα με[(e.g. εἶμα, δ]εἶμα, χ]εἶμα).

6]αμ[]αλα[: perhaps]άμ[β]αλα, the Aeolic form of *άνδαλα* (cf. Sappho fr. 110.2 Voigt, Eumelus *PMG* 696.2, Call. *SH* 297.4, 8, Philod. *AP* 11.35.5, Diotim. *AP* 6.267.6), especially if εἶμα 'garment' stood in the previous line. In that case, the passage might be describing someone's appearance (cf. possibly ῆν] ἱδ', 4 n.), with χ]ρυσ[ε]ίην in the following line characterizing another element of the dress (perhaps of a goddess?). Consider also ἀμφ' ἄλα (*Il.* 1.409), ἀμφαλάληται ([Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.423).

fr. 16

2]π'έιο[. The correction implies an iotacist spelling by the original scribe. If π is right, perhaps restore]πείω, an aorist imperative form of ἔπομαι with arbitrary lengthening, which occurs only in *Il.* 10.285. An imperative would imply direct speech, which is further supported by κύ at 4. εἰ]μ'έιο is palaeographically impossible.

3 χω[. Possibilities include forms of χῶομαι, χῶρα, or χῶλος.

4]ν φερ[. Another indication of direct speech. The final trace is the foot of an upright leaning to the right: perhaps vocative φέρι[ε]τε (Homeric).

5]νεπει[: either]ν ἐπέλ[or εἰ]νέπειν ([Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.364, Nonn. *D.* 14.300, 48.423). εἰ]νέπεις [is excluded.

6]υματ[. Possibilities include κ]υματ[(cf. fr. 1.3 *θαλασσ*], λ]υματ[, π]υματ[, κα]υματ[, θα]υματ[, τρα]υματ[.

fr. 17

5 χρυσ[. Cf. fr. 15.7 χ]ρυσ[ε]ίην.

7]αφρ[. Given the mention of something golden at 5, perhaps a form of Ἀφροδίτη?

fr. 18

1]κεπαρ[:]κ' ἐπαρ[,]κε παρ[, or]κεπαρ[ν- 'carpenter's axe'.

2]νζω[[κ]]η[. The nature of the correction is unclear. After the correction perhaps a subjunctive form of ζώω (ζώη) or a form of the noun ζωή.

5][[γ]]'κ'α[[γ]]'μόμ[. Perhaps read after the correction an aorist form of κάμνω: κάμομεν, καμόμεθα (*Il.* 18.341), καμόμην. The first person would imply direct speech; cf. also 9 n.

8 κρητη[; a form of either Κρήτη or κρητήρ.

9], υμει[. Perhaps restore υμεί[ς or υμεί[ων.

fr. 19

2 γει[; presumably a form of γεί[των/των- (GBD'A). Alternatively γ' ει[.

4 κ]λάδον(?): restored on the basis of δέ]νδρεον in the preceding line; cf. fr. 2.4 κλα[, 56.2 κλα[.

There are, of course, other possibilities: κε]λαδον-, όμι]λαδόν, όκ]λαδόν, ι]λαδόν.

fr. 20

2] ,εανον:], εαν ον, [,], ,έανόν, or Ψ]κεανόν. κ]τέανον is excluded by the absence of any trace of a high horizontal and is in any case virtually always in the plural in hexameter poetry.

4]μεται: βρέ]μεται or νέ]μεται.

fr. 21

3 κ]λήϊζε τ[. The accent on eta in the papyrus, of which only the upper tip is preserved, shows that this is not κληϊζετ[αι/κληϊζετ[(ο) (cf. AR 4.1153) nor ληϊζετ[(ο) (always in the middle voice).

fr. 22

3 πο]ικιλλεζ[: πο]ικίλλεζ[θαι or πο]ίικιλλε ζ[.

4 ένα]λίγκιον. Perhaps whatever is being 'cunningly wrought' or 'adorned' in the previous line is here compared to something. The passage may be an imitation of *Il.* 18.590–91 ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις / τῶ ἵκελον οἶον κτλ.

fr. 23

3 After εδρεν (or ἀν]εδρεν) there is a small blank space suggesting the end of the verse, which would have been slightly shorter than the preceding and following ones. Below 4 there is again a small blank space with no traces of ink, which might imply either the beginning of a lower margin or a verse much shorter than the preceding ones.

fr. 24

3 (ἀπ)]ομορξ[: an aorist form of (ἀπ)ομόργνυμι, the verb typically used in epic for wiping tears.

fr. 25

1 ἱπε[. If the diaeresis marks the beginning of the word, this could only be the Homeric *hapax* ἱπεε (some kind of 'woodworms') in *Od.* 21.395.

2]εχηρημ[: κ]εχηρημ[έν- or]ε χηρημ[(with a form of χρημα).

4 ζτ'ρόφαλ[: a form of τροφάλιγξ or the rare verb τροφαλίζω (*Od.* 18.315).

fr. 26

6]λαυτ[: if not]λ' αυτ[, perhaps a compound of -κ]λαυτ[-.

9], εη. [. These letters appear to be written in thicker strokes and were perhaps added with a different pen if not in a different hand altogether.

fr. 27

- 5]*κκεν*ε[: either the ending of an iterative form (]*κκε ν*ε[,]*κκεν* ε[) or]*κ κεν*ε[.
6 If not ἀπὸ δὲ[, ἀποδὲ[*c vel sim.* (GBD'A).

fr. 28

4]*ιοτ* .[. The final trace appears to be an unusually long descender (in which case perhaps read a form of δ]*ιοτρ*[εφ-), but it may be easier to consider the trace an insertion of iota into the following line after α (which would perhaps result in an optative form of τλάω).

fr. 29

Metrical position: verse-ends (cf. 5).

2]*κοιτ* .[. The final upright trace would be compatible with a form of (παρ)ἀκοιτις, (παρ)-ακοίτης, or κοίτη (all very often at verse-end).

3 E.g. δ]*λβωι* (GBD'A).

4]*νι* .*να*[. The middle traces are compatible with a smallish omega, in which case the most plausible restoration is *Κρο*]νίωνα at verse-end.

fr. 30

2]*λομενοι*[:]*λόμενοι*/]*λομένοι*[:*c*,]*λομεν* οί[:*c*, ἀλ]λ' ὁ μὲν οί[:*c*, or ἀλ]λο μὲν οί[:*c*.

3]*αμινου*[: e.g.]*ά μιν* οὐ[:*c*, θ]αμινου (usually in the plural; found in the singular only in AR 3.1266, Arat. 1047, Bion fr. 4 Gow). κ]αμίνου 'oven, furnace' seems less likely in epic, though it does occur a number of times in Nonnus.

fr. 31

2]*ι**ετ*ωι:. If the first letter is iota, there are various possibilities, e.g. δ]*ι*ετῶι, ἀρ]*ι*ετωι,]*ι*ετῶι.

fr. 32

2]*χνια*[:*c*]χνια or ἀρά]χνια.

A. BENAÏSSA

5103. DIONYSIUS, *BASSARICA*(?)

25 3B.55/G(h)

6.9 × 17 cm

Late first or early second century
Plate I

A fragment from a roll written along the fibres and preserving parts of eighteen hexameters from the foot of a column, with a slight left-hand margin of 0.9 cm opposite 7–18 and a lower margin of 5.3 cm. The back is blank.

The papyrus is written in a medium-sized round formal hand of the type sometimes designated as 'Roman uncial', carefully executed and well spaced, its strict bilinearity violated only by the stem of φ (17). On the type, see G. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro* (Pap. Flor. XXXVIII; 2005) 151–61, and cf. *GMAW*² 21, 38. ε with the upper curve touching the tip of the medial stroke ('occhiellato') and sometimes η with a high cross-bar (cf. especially 4, 7) suggest an early phase of the hand, probably no later than the first quarter of the second century; see Cavallo, op. cit. 154–5, and compare P. Ryl. III 482 (Plate 4), assigned to the early second century

by its editor but pushed back to the middle of the first century by Cavallo, and VIII **1090** (Plate v), assigned to the late first century and preserving 'a fragment of a mathematical treatise inscribed in second-century cursive on the verso' (for other examples of hands with closed ϵ , see LXVIII **4669** introd.). Note also the occasional imperfectly rounded and vertically elongated c and o . μ is sometimes written in an exaggerated manner (cf. especially 7, 11), with its outer strokes curved and raised above the line. Shading is present but minimal, and uprights and some obliques are ornamented with finials (sometimes just small blobs). There are no lectional signs. As Dr W. Benjamin Henry has perceptively noted, the hand is identical to that of XXXVII **2818** = SH 940 (M-P³ 1972.2; LDAB 4384), a fragment preserving the middle of twelve adespotic hexameters, which Lobel also assigned to the end of the first century; on its uncertain contents, see below. It is similarly from the bottom of a column, with a lower margin of 5 cm, though it cannot be joined directly to **5103**. The shapes and sizes of letters and line spacing match well, but unlike **5103**, **2818** exhibits a high stop (11) and two diaereses (4, 7). The scribe commonly writes $\epsilon\iota$ for long ι in both papyri (**5103** 8, perhaps also 18 $\epsilon\iota\alpha$. [; **2818** 10, 12).

The fragment describes a battle scene involving Dionysus (3 B] $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\chi\omicron\varsigma$). Lines 6–7 appear to contain a short speech bidding someone's father to look at someone or something, perhaps addressed by Dionysus to Zeus. There follows the mention of a flying arrow or some other weapon 'desirous of blood' (8, 9 nn.), perhaps someone or something Thessalian (10 n.), a person urging someone to the fight (11), a 'useless sea shell' (12, implying defeat?) which is probably identical with the 'trumpet' in the following line, and someone or something Lydian (13). Two elements suggest that the scene belongs to an episode in Dionysus' campaign against the Indian king Deriades, now best known to us from Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* of the fifth century. In hexameter epic, the adjective $\Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (13) occurs only in Nonnus and usually in association with Dionysus, reflecting the god's strong ties to Lydia. It could characterise the god himself, an object associated with him, or one of his companions; see W. Peek, *Lexicon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos* (1968–75) s.v. More intriguingly, the traces in 14 most probably conceal the name $K\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$ (acc.), which is that of an Indian ally of Deriades in Nonnus (see n.). It has not been possible, however, to identify this martial scene with a specific episode of the *Dionysiaca*.

The diction of the fragment points to the late Hellenistic or early imperial period. Beside some common Homeric words (7 $\delta\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$, 11 $\delta\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega\nu$), the poem shares singular features with Nicander (8 $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ { ϵ } $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}[\omega\nu]$) and Oppian (the uncompounded participle $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and the augmented aorist $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\omicron\acute{\iota}\zeta[\eta\varsigma\epsilon]$ at 9; cf. also 11 $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\acute{\omega}[\lambda\omicron\nu]$), the second of whom is later than the assigned date of the papyrus. The expression $\tau\eta\ddot{\upsilon}\acute{\sigma}\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\chi\lambda\omicron[\nu]$ (12) is unparalleled, and the use of the sea shell in battle and its metaphorical designation as a $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\pi\iota\gamma\acute{\xi}$ (13) are not attested in Greek epic before Nonnus (see 12, 13 nn.). The metre of the verse beginnings does not present any exceptional features. There are no spondees in succession at the

beginning of the verse and word-end never follows contracted second biceps, the latter phenomenon being typical of poetry of the Hellenistic and imperial periods (M. L. West, *Greek Metre* [1982] 155, 178).

The coincidences with Nonnus in both content and language provide sufficient confidence for identifying **5103** as a precursor to his *Dionysiaca*. Several indicators converge to support assigning the papyrus to Dionysius' *Bassarica*, a poem in at least 18 books, of which significant fragments are preserved by P. Lond. Lit. 40 and Stephanus of Byzantium, and Nonnus' most important model for the Indian war (edition by E. Livrea, *Dionysii Bassaricon et Gigantiadis fragmenta* (1973)). Most significantly, an entry of Stephanus of Byzantium strongly suggests that the *Καρμῖνοι*, the contingent that Kyllaros leads in the *Dionysiaca*, also figured in the *Bassarica* (see 14 n.). The presence of a Lydian contingent (cf. 13) in the poem can be inferred from fr. 12 L. (~ Nonn. *D.* 13.471), and the name *Βάκχος* (3) recurs in fr. 19v.57 L. The specific linguistic parallels between **5103** and Nicander and Oppian respectively (see above) are consonant with the significant number of direct correspondences already observed between Dionysius and these poets (see Livrea, op. cit. 13–15). Finally, Dionysius' current *terminus ante quem* in the mid second century (Livrea, op. cit. 14–15) is compatible with the papyrus' palaeographical date. If Dionysius is accepted as the author of **5103**, the papyrus would provide him with a new *terminus* and would suggest that his *floruit* could not postdate the turn of the second century.

XXXVII **2818** = *SH* 940, written in the same hand as **5103** (see above) and also preserving hexameters with an apparently martial theme, is presumably from the same roll and poem. Unfortunately, 'not enough is left . . . to make a guess at its subject or the identity of its author' (Lobel; Lloyd-Jones and Parsons label the fragment 'obscurum'). A positive connection of **2818** with the *Bassarica* cannot therefore be firmly established on the basis of its meagre contents. The fragment mentions a king or something royal (2), a name beginning *Ἄδρης* [(4; *Ἄδρη* [Lobel, *SH*), some entities being slain (7), a high city or mountain called *Κακ* [(8) (*αἰπεινοῦ Κακ* [λοιο Lobel), hundreds of oxen (9), someone or something Lemnian of Hephaestus (10), flames (11), and *Ἄρεα λαιγ* [όν] / [- ∞ - πτ] *ολίπορθον ἀδήρ* {ε} *ιτον* (11–12). The goddess *Ἄδρήστεια* (= Nemesis) appears a number of times in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (1.481, 15.392–3, 48.452, 463), but never within the context of the Indian war per se. The Cabiri from Lemnos, children of Hephaestus, are among the allies of Dionysus in the *Dionysiaca* and are often associated with fire (cf. especially *D.* 14.22 *δαήμονες ἐχαρεῶνος*, 17.195 *Εὐρυμέδων πυρόεις*, 29.193–214, 39.391–401; Hephaestus himself assists them in combat with his fire at *D.* 30.63–104), but there is no obvious reason to assume their involvement in **2818**.

I am again indebted to Professor Giambattista D'Alessio, Dr W. Benjamin Henry, Professor Peter J. Parsons, and Dr Martin L. West for their comments on earlier drafts of this edition.

]. . []. . [
	....]ν. δεβρε[		....]νηδεβρε[
	....]ακχοςμε[		...B]άκχος με[
	..]τηςαδες[		..]ςτήσας δεσ[
5	...]. νιωνσκ.[	5	...]ονιων σκω[
	...]. πατ. ρ. θρη[		Zεῦ] πάτερ, ἄθρη[σον
	δηρονιδουμα[		δηρὸν ιδουμα[
	α. ματοςειχανο[		αἵματος εἶχανό[ων
	αλμ. νοσερροιζ[		ἄλμενος ἐρροιζ[ησε
10	αι[.] νιουκαταρ.[	10	αι[.] ονιου κατὰ ρύ[
	οτρυνωνεπιμ.[		ὀτρύνων ἐπὶ μῶ[λον
	την. ηνκοχλο[		τηῦσίην κόχλο[ν
	καλπιγξλυδιον[		κάλπιγξ Λύδιον [
	κυλλ. . . . ουχο.[		κυλλα. . ν ούχ ού[τ-
15	η. . . . [. . .] . . . σ. [	15	ἦμος. [. . .] . . . σ. [
	α. [.] . ν. [		α. [.] . ν. [
	ο. [.] . [. . . .] φ. [		ο. [.] . [. . . .] φ. [
	τ. λικο. εια. [		τηλίκος εια. [

1] . . [, specks of ink on edge 2 ν . , upright with apparent horizontal join at two-thirds height (like η) and after lacuna speck at line level 4] . , upper and lower extremities of ε or σ; invisibility of central stroke favours σ 5] . , upper half of circle: ο or θ [. , undecorated tip of short ascending oblique at two-thirds height 6] π , high horizontal and second upright τ . , circular letter open at the right: ε or σ ρ . , thick ascending oblique then abraded foot of descending oblique: trace of cross-bar between them suggests λ 8 α . , somewhat confused traces due to damaged surface, but a thick upright is clearly discernible α , left-hand half 9 μ . , tiny trace at mid-height 10 ι [, upper part of upright, broken around mid-height] . , lower and mid-height parts of a right-hand arc: ο θ or ω [. , upper part of steeply descending oblique with downward hook (left-hand arm of γ?) 11 π , two parallel uprights with trace of end of horizontal above second upright, extending slightly beyond it [. , small lower left arc not extending beyond mid-height, like left-hand part of ω 12 ν . . , lower halves of letters: left-hand arm and stem of γ, circular letter open at the right (ε or σ), upright 14 , first, ascending oblique with serif at foot, joining a thick descending oblique at top (perhaps join from right at mid-height of first oblique: λ?); second, top of upright joined from right by an upper arc then thick dot at one-third height: upper part of β ε ρ or (less likely) σ; third, part of upper arc or top of circular letter (ο? ρ?); fourth, dot just above mid-height then upper part of thick descending oblique (apparently with join at top); after small lacuna, upright with horizontal join from left slightly above line level: the traces are best compatible with η [. , curved upper tip of descending oblique: γ or χ (λ, λ unlikely) 15 [, first, two parallel uprights like μ (not η η or π); second, upper part of small circle or upper arc level with letter tops (ο ρ or σ); third, ditto; fourth, small trace of ascending oblique at two-thirds height] . . . , foot of gently descending oblique; two obliques joining at top, with the second extending above the apex: most probably λ but λ or λ also possible; thick dot at line level [. , small trace

level with letter tops 16 α , lower part of upright and above to the right horizontal level with letter tops: Γ Π or τ] , top of upright (?)] , upper arc 17 σ , two obliques joining like arms of Υ or upper part of κ ; space below join is abraded with an uncertain trace] , bottom of ϵ or ς ϕ] , top and bottom of very tall upright projecting beyond level of other letters; in the middle scattered traces compatible with outline of large circle; trace at one-third height, then foot of ascending oblique 18 τ , very abraded surface with specks of ink at line level and mid-height (upright and horizontal?) σ , small trace at line level like right-hand end of lower arc α] , Λ similar in shape to the one at the beginning of 16; small trace near line level

2 . . .] $\nu\eta\delta\epsilon\beta\rho\epsilon$]. E.g. $\nu\varsigma\mu\epsilon\iota$] $\nu\eta$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}$] $\mu\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha$ (MLW; the iotacist spelling would fit the space better), alternatively with δ' $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\rho\epsilon$] $\mu\epsilon\nu$ or $\delta\epsilon$ $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}$] $\mu\epsilon\iota$ (GBD'A, who also suggests the possibility of a participle like $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$] $\nu\eta$ at the beginning of the line).

3-4 MLW suggests restoring $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$] . . . $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$] ν in 3, answered by δ' $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$] in 4 (WBH notes that $\delta\epsilon$ ς] is also possible, as the rhythm - - - : ~ | with word-end after $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is acceptable; cf. West, *Greek Metre* 155 n. 51).

4 . .] $\varsigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$. Possibilities include $\acute{\alpha}\nu$] $\varsigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$, $\varsigma\nu$] $\varsigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$ (MLW), and $\nu\omicron$] $\varsigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$ (GBD'A; in Nonn. *D.* 36.82 of Apollo returning to battle), with B] $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\chi\omicron\varsigma$ in 3 probably as subject.

5 . .] $\theta\nu\iota\omega\nu$: . .] $\theta\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ or . .] $\theta\nu$ $\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ (WBH). With the former articulation, the possibilities are limited: either some proper name or adjective (e.g. $A\acute{\iota}\mu$] $\theta\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$; cf. 10 n.), or e.g. $\chi\theta$] $\theta\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, ϕ] $\theta\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ($K\rho\theta\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ always has long iota in hexameter epic). With the second articulation, restore e.g. $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\varsigma$] $\theta\nu$ $\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ (cf. *Od.* 9.300). The space before the break may accommodate only two broad letters.

$\kappa\omega$] . The third letter must be a vowel, and the one most compatible with the small trace, the undecorated tip of an ascending oblique at two-thirds height, is ω (the trace corresponding to the tip of its left arm). Perhaps a form of $\kappa\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (*Il.* 13.564; cf. Call. *Hec.* fr. 49.15 Hollis with n. ad loc.).

6 $Z\epsilon\upsilon$] $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho$, $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\eta$] $\varsigma\omicron\nu$ (MLW). Given the apparent imperative $\acute{\iota}\delta'$ or $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ in 7, this reconstruction is likelier than the alternative divisions $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho'$ $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\eta$] ς - and $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ $\theta\rho\eta$] . Dionysus (3) is perhaps addressing his father. Instead of the imperative, one may alternatively restore the future $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\eta$] $\varsigma\epsilon\iota\iota\varsigma$ (perhaps as part of a question) or the aorist optative $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\eta$] $\varsigma\epsilon\iota\iota\alpha\varsigma$, as GBD'A suggests, noting that the former possibility might provide a background for $\delta\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ in the next line: 'Will you look at (a certain situation) very long (sc. without doing anything)?'

7 $\delta\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha$] . Two divisions suggest themselves, both involving a parenthetical imperative form of $*\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$: $\delta\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\acute{\iota}\delta'$, $\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\alpha$] (e.g. $\mu\acute{\alpha}$] $\lambda\alpha$, GBD'A) and $\delta\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$, $\mu\alpha$] , possibly with a stronger stop after $\delta\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ if the adverb belongs with what precedes. Such expressions do not have parallels in hexameter epic (nor does the middle imperative form $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ / $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$), but they are well-attested in epigram and bucolic poetry; for parenthetical imperative $\acute{\iota}\delta(\epsilon)$, cf. e.g. Theoc. 4.48, 5.30, 37, Posidip. 52.2, Antiphilus *AP* 5.111.3, etc. The articulation $\delta\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\acute{\iota}\delta'$ $\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\alpha$] seems less plausible, especially since the conjunction $\acute{\iota}\delta(\acute{\epsilon})$ is never followed by a negative particle. The ethnic $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, needless to say, would be unexpected in such a context and genre.

8 $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}$] $\omega\nu$ (l. $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu$), 'desirous of blood' (so MLW) = Nic. *Theo.* 471 $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu$ (of a snake, verse-beginning), where MLW thinks that $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu$ should be emended to $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu$. The verb $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ 'to crave, lust, yearn' occurs three times in Homer as a *varia lectio* for $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ in a minority of MSS and some lexica (*Il.* 17.572 $\acute{\iota}(\varsigma)\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\alpha\iota$, 23.300 $\acute{\iota}(\varsigma)\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\omega\varsigma\alpha\nu$, *Od.* 8.288 $\acute{\iota}(\varsigma)\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu$). It has long been thought to be the correct reading, since $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ usually has the unrelated sense of 'to hold back, check, wait'; see F. Bechtel, *Lexilogus zu Homer* (1914) 182-3; J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* i (1953) 778; cf. LSJ s.v. $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ II; Chantraine, *Dict. étym.* s.v. $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$. The rare verb recurs in poetry in Herond. 7.26 $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\omega\nu\pi$] $\epsilon\rho$ $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\theta'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\iota$, Babr. 77.2 $\tau\nu\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\pi\eta\acute{\xi}$ $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\omega\varsigma\alpha$, and in a variant form in Call. *Aet.* fr. 178.22 Pf. $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\varsigma$] a] . . . $\theta\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota$ / $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$. In later poetry, it is uncertain whether forms in $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu$ - with the sense of 'to crave' should be corrected to $\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu$ -, since they may

have derived from already corrupted models: QS 1.65, 2.399, 4.221, 6.139, 7.317, 451, 13.159, Procl. *h. Ven.* 2.6.

Because the next line very probably mentions an arrow, the expression here presumably applies to the same weapon; for the motif of the blood-lust of weapons, see M. L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (2007) 462 (with further bibliography). In QS 7.451 the phrase αἵματος ἰ(ε)χανόωσαν (verse-end) is similarly used of an ashen spear and seems to combine Dionysius' expression (itself borrowed from Nicander) with *Il.* 23.300 δρόμου ἰ(ε)χανόωσαν (of a horse, verse-end).

9 ἄλμενος ἐρροίζ[ησε]. These words probably refer to an arrow (οἰστός, ἰός) flying through the air; supply e.g. δι' ἠέρος after ἐρροίζ[ησε] (cf. Nonn. *D.* 30.308 cited below). The verb ἄλλομαι is used of an arrow in *Il.* 4.125 ἄλλτο δ' οἰστός (cf. also *Il.* 15.313–14, 470, 16.773 for similar expressions with θρώϊσκω), and ροιζέω can characterise the whizzing and rushing sound of flying weapons (notably arrows); cf. Soph. *Ti.* 567–8 ἦκεν κομήτην ἰόν· ἐς δὲ πλεύμονας / στέρνων διερροίζησεν, Nonn. *D.* 5.44, 7.196 (transitive), 29.289 πτερόεντες ἀνερροίζησαν οἰστοί (followed by the sound of the κάλλιγξ, cf. 13 below), 30.307–8 ἵπταμένη δέ / Βακχιάς ἐρροίζησε δι' ἠέρος ἔγχεος αἰχμῆ, 48.940. For other collocations somewhat similar to the present line, cf. Nonn. *D.* 29.79 ἵπτάμενος ροιζηδόν (of an arrow, verse-beginning) and the adespotic line *SSH* 1189 κυρίζουσα Μακηδονίς ἵπτατο λόγχη.

The augmented aorist of ροιζέω is not attested in epic before Oppian *Hal.* 1.563 (cf. also Nonn. *D.* 1.248, 5.44, 590, 30.308, in the same *sedes*). Likewise, the uncompounded form of the syncopated aorist participle of ἄλλομαι recurs only in *Hal.* 5.666 (besides some grammarians and lexica), similarly at the beginning of the verse and in the nom. masc. sg. These coincidences suggest a close connection between the two poets (see also below, 11 n.). On the correspondences between Dionysius and Oppian, see above, introd.

10 αι[.]οῖου. The trace following *a* is the upper part of an upright down to slightly below its mid-height. Since no join is detectable at the top or mid-height, γ η κ ν π ρ are excluded, leaving ι as the only likely possibility. I suggest reading Αἰ[μ]οῖου, a Hellenistic poeticism for 'Thessalian' after the eponymous hero Haemon. Although in Hellenistic and later poetry Thessaly is often called by its ancient name Αἰμονία (e.g. Call. fr. 7.26 Pf.), and Αἰμονιεύς is a well-attested ethnic (e.g. AR 2.507, 4.1075), the form Αἰμόνιος is rather rare: AR 3.1244, Paul. Sil. *Descr.* 576, and Steph. Byz. *a* 130 Billerbeck; cf. also the substantivized Αἰμόνιοι in *GDRK* XLIV 2.8 (Hymn to Attis; early imperial period?). (In [Orph.] *Arg.* 79 Αἰμόνιους ὀχέας, the adjective refers to Mount Haemon in Thrace, not to Thessaly; see F. Vian ad loc.) The ethnic adjective may qualify ἵππου *vel sim.* Thessalian horses were highly prized and celebrated; cf. *Il.* 2.763–7, Theoc. 18.30 Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος (see A. S. F. Gow ad loc.), Nonn. *D.* 29.16 Θεσσαλικῆς . . . ἵππου, 37.617, 662 Θεσσαλὸν ἵππον, Propertius 2.8.38 *Haemoniis* . . . *equis*, 10.2 *Haemonio* . . . *equo*.

κατὰ ρυ[.]. The upper tip of a steeply descending oblique suggests the left-hand arm of γ as the final trace. There is no metrically suitable compound beginning καταρυ-. Forms of ρυτήρ, a word that can variously mean 'rein', 'defender', and 'drawer of the bow/arrows', would not allow a caesura in the third foot. Perhaps κατὰ ρυ[θμόν], 'with Αἰ[μ]οῖου going with another noun and the genitives determining the "rhythm" ("according to the rhythm of the Thessalian (something/somebody)")' (GBD'A, noting that 'Nonnus is virtually the only preserved epic author to make free use of the word' ρυθμός). If Αἰ[μ]οῖου has an equine association (see above), another possibility suggested independently by Professors Richard Janko and D'Alessio is ρυ[μόν] or ρυ[μοῦ], 'pole (of a chariot)'; the genitive would necessitate correction at the caesura, but cf. *Bass.* fr. 19v.41 L. for this phenomenon in Dionysius.

11 ὀτρύνων ἐπὶ μῶ[λον]. A person urging on his fellow warrior(s) to fight; cf. *Bass.* fr. 19r.12 L. ὀτρυνε. The restoration ἐπὶ μῶ[λον] is due to PJP; cf. esp. Opp. *Hal.* 4.428 ἐπὶ μῶλων ὀρίνει, also *Hal.* 2.331, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.86, QS 8.56, *Orac. Sib.* 13.148, *AP* 9.580.2 (ἐπὶ μῶλων ἐγείρει).

12 τηϋεῖην κόχλο[ν]. This 'useless shell' is perhaps identical with the κάλλιγξ in the next line.

Technically, the metallic *άλπιγξ* is distinct from the *κόχλος*, which is a natural blowing instrument (on this use of spiral sea shells, see Gow on Theoc. 9.25); but a metaphorical assimilation of the two is found in Nonnus *D.* 17.92–3 *Τυρρηνηῆς βαρύδουπον ἔχων άλπιγγα θαλάσσης, / πομπὸν Ἐνναλίοιο μέλος μυκήσατο κόχλω*, 39.387–8 *χείλεσι δ' ἰκμαλέοισι μαχήμονα κόχλον ἐρείσας / εἰναλίη άλπιγγι μέλος μυκήσατο Νηρεύς*, 43.299–300 *καὶ κόχλον ἔλῶν ὑπὸ Κύρτιος ὕδωρ / εἰναλίη άλπιγγι Λίβυς μυκήσατο Νηρεύς*. For a similar metaphorical assimilation of sea shells to *αὐλοί*, cf. Mosch. *Eur.* 123–4 *Τρίτωνες, πόντοιο βαρύθροοι αὐλητῆρες, / κόχλοισιν ταναοῖς γάμιον μέλος ἠπύοντες*. The trope may go back to Archilochus, who apparently referred to a *στρόμβος*, a type of conch, as *θαλασσίην άλπιγγα* (fr. 214 West; cf. F. Bossi, *Studi su Archiloco* (1990) 220–22). Although sometimes used, like the related *κόγχη*, by marine divinities (e.g. Mosch. *Eur.* 124; Paus. 8.2.7), the *κόχλος* need not be restricted to them (cf. the first example cited from Nonnus, where Dionysus is subject; Eur. *IT* 303, cowherds; Theoc. 22.75, Amycus).

The adjective *τηῦσίην* seems to imply prospectively that the recourse to the shell-trumpet (presumably for rallying fighters; cf. 11 n.) was useless and its bearer doomed to failure, at least temporarily; cf. Nonn. *D.* 22.247 *καὶ τις ἐὼν άλπιγγα μάτην περὶ χεῖλος ἐρείσας* (likewise prospective, of an enemy of Dionysus), 36.396 *ῥυθμὸν Ἐνναλίοιο μάτην ἐπεβόμβεε άλπιγξ* (of Dionysus himself). The adjective is first attested in *Od.* 3.316 ~ 15.13, then in Alc. *PMGF* 112, *h. Ap.* 540, Bacch. 5.81, AR 3.651, Naumachius *GDRK* XXIX 64, but never in this position; cf. however the adverb *τηῦσίως* at the beginning of the verse in Theoc. 25.230. In Bacch. 5.81 *μὴ ταῦσιον προῖει τραχὺν ἐκ χειρῶν διςτόν*, the adjective is similarly used proleptically (on this usage cf. K–G I 276). *κόχλος* was originally a masculine noun, but it was occasionally treated as feminine from the Hellenistic period onwards; cf. Theoc. 22.75 (*κόχλον . . . κοίλην D : κοῖλον M*), AR 3.859, Naumachius *GDRK* XXIX 62, Paus. 3.21.6, Nonn. *D.* 6.274, 42.415, 45.127.

13 *άλπιγξ*. Although the trumpet had some uses in peacetime, its predominant function according to both literary and historical sources was military, especially as a signal-instrument; see P. Krentz in V. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience* (1991) 110–20, and M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (1992) 118–19 with n. 179. *ὀτρύνων* at 11 suggests that it was employed here to rouse or rally fighters to attack. In Homer the *άλπιγξ* appears only in a simile (*Il.* 18.219; cf. 21.388), which led ancient scholars (schol. ad loc.) to infer that it was not yet invented in the age of the Homeric heroes (*κόχλω δὲ θαλασσίω ἐάλπιζον*, says schol. A, although a *κόχλος* is never mentioned in Homer or other extant early epic: the commentator is perhaps relying on passages from later poetry). It does not appear in martial Greek non-historical epic until Triphiodorus (79; cf. its mock-epic mention in *Batr.* 199). It is especially prominent in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (see Peek, *Lexicon* s.v.), where, however, it designates metaphorically a sea-shell 'trumpet' (see 12 n.); this is probably also the case in our fragment since a *τηῦσίην κόχλο[ν]* is mentioned in the previous line. For other occurrences of the trumpet in hexameter poetry, cf. Olympiodorus, *Blemyomachia* 80 Livrea (fifth century) and LXIII 4352 fr. 3.7 (Hadrian's lion hunt?). The word occurs at the beginning of the verse in [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.398 (as a hunting instrument) and Nonn. *D.* 27.170.

Λύδιον [. See introd. on the adjective's confinement to Nonnus in hexameter epic (the same is true of the metrically alternative adjective *λυδόος*, which, however, has slightly wider applications and associations; the substantive *λυδοί* occurs also in Pisander of Laranda, *GDRK* S6 fr. 17). It is already known that Dionysius' *Bassarica* (fr. 12 L.) mentioned *Ἰόανος*, an obscure Lydian city allied with Dionysus in Nonn. *D.* 13.471. MLW suggests restoring e.g. *Λύδιον* [*ἄϊμα*].

14 *κυλλα . . . ν*. All the entries in LSJ beginning in *κυλλ-* are unmetrical, prosaic, or do not suit the traces, so we are probably facing a proper name or adjective. Of attested names, the most compatible with the traces is the rare *Κύλλαρον* (see palaeographical apparatus; *Κυλλην-* is excluded; on the etymology of the name, see O. Masson, *Onomastica graeca selecta* i (1990) 279). In early poetry (Stesich. *PMGF* 178, Alc. *PMGF* 25), Kyllaros is the name of one of the horses of the Dioscuri (cf.

Verg. *G.* 3.90 and Serv. ad loc.), while in Ovid *Met.* 12.393 the name designates a centaur (note the allusion to his more popular identity at 401, *Castore dignus*). In Nonnus, however, *Κύλλαρος* is the name of an Indian ally of Deriades, commander with his brother Astraeis of the contingent from Karmina (*D.* 26.220). He is killed by one of Dionysus' allies in *D.* 36.280–87, at which point he becomes the subject of a digression in which he is described as a skilled fighter, a table companion of Deriades, and second only to Morrheus in the king's esteem. Deriades' great affection for him as well as the length of the digression suggest that he may have been mentioned in a previous poem on Dionysus' Indian campaign, in which he perhaps played a more prominent role than in the *Dionysiaca*. Indeed, P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques* (1991) 307, has persuasively argued that the *Καρμῖνοι*—the contingent led by Kyllaros—were mentioned by Dionysius in the *Bassarica* (cf. also F. Vian, *ZPE* 122 (1998) 77). Stephanus of Byzantium p. 360.10 Meineke has the following (now abridged) entry for *Κάρμιννα*: *νηος Ἰνδική. τὸ ἐθνικὸν ὠφείλε Καρμινναῖος, εὐρρηται δὲ Καρμῖνοι*. Since both Stephanus and Nonnus consider Karmina an Indian place, whereas it was located in the Persian gulf according to other sources (cf. Chuvin, *Mythologie* 307 n. 82), and both share the unusually formed ethnic *Καρμῖνοι*, they were probably relying on the same source. This common source was in all likelihood Dionysius' *Bassarica*, since both authors quarried it heavily for the names of Indian peoples and cities. In addition, the Karminoi in Nonnus' catalogue of Deriades' allies appear alongside the Sibai and the Hydarkai (*D.* 26.218–19), who were certainly mentioned by Dionysius (*Bass.* fr. 15 and 26 L.). The names of a number of other Indian leaders were borrowed by Nonnus from Dionysius: Deriades, Tektaphos, Tidnasides (Morrheus), Modaios, probably Blemys and Orontes; see Chuvin, *Mythologie* Index.

After *Κύλλαρον*, either *οὐχ οὐ[τος* (referring to an ally of Dionysus?) or *οὐχ οὐ[τω(ς)* (in the same *sedes* and after a personal name in *Od.* 21.257; cf. also Triph. 369, Nonn. *D.* 10.322, 23.221–2).

18 *τηλίκος*. At the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 24.487 (-ου), *h. Cer.* 116 (-αι), AR fr. 12.5 Powell (-ου), and frequently in Nonn. *D.* (nominative at 25.27, 97, 42.190). In Hellenistic and later poetry, the adjective is frequently used in the sense of *τοκοῦτος*, without reference to age (see LSJ s.v. 11 and Gow on Theoc. 25.184).

A. BENAÏSSA

5104. MYTHOLOGICAL HEXAMETERS

37 4B.105/G(3–4)a

fr. 1 6.4 cm × 11.2 cm

Second/third century
Plate II

Two fragments, the larger (fr. 1, to which all line-numbers in this introduction refer) giving an upper margin of 2.4 cm and parts of the first 15 lines of a column broken at the foot and on both sides. The back is blank.

The text is written in a fairly small informal round hand of the same general type as that of the verso text PSI II 130 (Pap. Flor. XXX, tav. xxiv; Hesiodic *Catalogue*), which has on its recto cursive of the second or third century. A date in the third century seems somewhat more likely: there is some similarity to the hand of XXXVI 2790, horoscopes for 257 and 255 (D. Baccani, *Oroscopi greci* (1992) no. 15). Letter spacing and formation are quite irregular: contrast for example the sequence ροδ as written in 7 and in 10. β has a base-line extending to the right. The cap of ε may touch the cross-bar, as twice in 11, and the cross-bar may be extended to attach the letter to the next (e.g. in 8 ες). β, κ, and φ extend above the notional

upper line, while ρ, γ, φ, χ, and ψ regularly descend below the notional lower line, and ι on occasion, but the length of the tail of ρ is highly variable: contrast the examples in 9 and 10. τ may be narrow (as in 4 *στ*) or very wide, as in 6 *τω*, where its cross-bar extends well past the left-hand side of the following letter. Serifs are regularly but not consistently applied to uprights and obliques: contrast for example the two etas in 6.

There are no lection signs. The text has been corrected in two places (12, 13), at least in the second apparently by a second hand. Long iota is spelt *ει* (7, 11; silently corrected in the reconstruction printed below), and the diphthong *ωι* without its iota (6).

The lines appear to contain a mythological narrative, but much of the detail is obscure. Dr M. L. West plausibly finds in the first two lines ‘some blight . . . affecting the earth and human fertility due to the wrath of a goddess, apparently Aphrodite (7)’. Someone (still Aphrodite?) ‘rejoiced’ at the situation (3); then perhaps Eileithyia interceded with her on behalf of mankind (4–5). The final lines may then be concerned with the situation following the lifting of the blight. The Horai (?) perhaps opened a gate (10). Thoosa put her work aside (?) and rushed out (11). Another deity (?) ‘with golden armour’ (12) appeared on the scene.

The style and metrical practice, so far as can be determined, seem compatible with ascription to an author of the Hellenistic or Imperial period. There is a breach of Meyer’s Third Law (7), but Hermann’s Bridge, Naeke’s Law, and Tiedke’s Law are respected. As far as one can tell, there are no monosyllabic endings or spondaic fifth feet.

A preliminary transcription of this piece with brief notes was produced by Dr Gonis, and Dr Carvounis prepared a commentary on this version of the text while holding a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship. Dr Henry took on the task of revising the edition for publication. Dr M. L. West contributed valuable comments and suggestions at the final stage.

fr. 1

	]εη []νφθειειμβροταγα . . [	]εην φθειείμβροτα γαίαν ~ - ≡
	] . χουσαβροτωνεριθηλαα[	] . χουσα βροτῶν ἐριθηλέα[- ≡
	] . [ . ]νεηνεπεεγηθεεδηδ . [	] . [ . ]νεην· ἐπεεγήθεε δ' ἦδη [
	]εναριστο . . . εια . [ . . ] . [	]εν ἀριστοτόκεια . [. .] . [
5	] . [ . ] . ς . οκοζαντεβολησεν[	μ]ο[γ]οστόκος ἀντεβόλησεν [
	]ουσακοτωζηλημον[	]ουσα κότῳ ζηλήμον[~ - ≡
	] . ιχωομενησαφροδειτη[	] . ιχωομένης Ἄφροδίτη[
	]τελεσφορονημαρ[	] τελεσφόρον ἦμαρ [~ - ≡
	] . η . [] . υκαιατειρεοσαιψ[ . ] . [	] . η . []ου και ἀτειρέος αἰψ[.] . [
10	]μαισανεσανροδοπηχε[	]μαις ἄνεσαν ῥοδοπήχε[~ - ≡
	]ερ . ωνεξεccυτοδειαθο[	]ερ . ων ἐξεccυτο δία Θό[ωσα
	]ceοιει[[v̄]]cυνεvτες[	χρυ]céοιει cὺν ἔvτες[ι
	]ηcκακαλ[	]ηc κακὰ λ[
	]χενκ[	]χενκ[
15	] . . . [	] . ου[

1 []ν, blank papyrus followed by a hole, then the right-hand part of the oblique and second upright of Ν . . [, abraded traces, ιϛ perhaps the likeliest interpretation: first, at letter-top level, perhaps a leftward-pointing serif with a trace at mid-line level suggesting an upright; second, perhaps the lower left-hand corner of ϛ, but now easily mistaken for a descending oblique following the loss of the surface in the upper left-hand part of the trace 2] . , trace just below letter-top level: ε and Υ both possible ω, the left-hand side and traces in place at letter-top level for the middle and right-hand side 3] . , high trace η, foot of an upright with leftward-pointing serif followed by foot of a second upright . [, abraded traces at letter-top level above and just to the right of the preserved right-hand side of δ and another trace just below the line: Η as written in δη just before would be suitable 4]ε, traces suggesting the ends of the cap and cross-bar . . . , lower part of upright with foot turning to the left, and cross-bar at letter-top level in space suiting τ written as in οτ (6); upper left-hand arc and base of circle, the latter now shifted down and to the left due to warping; foot of upright seriffed to the left followed by end of oblique ascending from left to right (above ε) . [, foot of upright seriffed to left] . [, high trace on edge (blank surface preceding) followed by foot of upright seriffed to left: perhaps τ 5] . [, abraded, perhaps the upper arc of a circle] . [, the upper right-hand arc of a circle , touching the preceding ε, a cross-bar level with the tops of the letters; joining it from below after a short distance, abraded traces compatible with the upright of τ; to the right, after the break, a continuation of the cross-bar 7] . [, the edge of the upper right-hand arc of a circle, perhaps ρ 9] . (first), the edge of the upper right-hand arc of a circle or the top of an upright, ρ among the choices . [, a heavy trace on the line in a space suiting the foot of the upright of τ] . (second), the right-hand side and part of the base of a circle] . [, a rather faint stroke on the line, ascending gently, perhaps the right-hand side of the curved middle of μ 11] . , at letter-top level, a trace suiting the junction of an upright with a cross-bar or with the upper arc of a circle, abraded below, with a spcck in place on the line for the lower part of the upright; to the right, at the same level as the preceding letter-top trace, though it now appears slightly

lower due to distortion of the papyrus, a trace suiting the upper edge of a gently sloping cross-bar: τ does not seem to be excluded 12 ν (first) cancelled by a dot over the left-hand upright of ν and another dot further to the right 13 κ (first) made out of λ by the addition in greyer ink of an upright and extended upward-sloping oblique both growing out of the apex of the original λ 14]χ rather than]ς, which would be anomalously narrow κ[, a tall upright seriffed to the left at the foot and with a stroke emerging from it on the right high in the line 15 At letter-top level, an indeterminate trace; the upper arc of a circle; an oblique descending from left to right

1 start, if γαῖα[ν (WBH) is correctly restored at line-end, possible supplements with parallels in hexameter verse include τρηχαλ]έην, κυαν]έην, διψαλ]έην, and αίμαλ]έην, as well as έήν and τ]εήν (all WBH), of which the last two would violate Meyer's Second Law.

φθειρίμβροτα, 'man-destroying', is used elsewhere in hexameters with substantives relating to warfare: μάχη (*Il.* 13.339; *QS* 8.446), αίγίς (*Od.* 22.297), Άρης (*AR* 3.1357), πόλεμος (*QS* 4.433, 9.218), άτη (*Triph.* 313). It is applied to illness at Merkelbach–Stauber, *Steinepigr. aus dem gr. Osten* ii 11/05/02.3 (Pontos, c. iii AD), νούσου φθειριμβρότου. Perhaps here it was applied to the 'shafts' (κῆλα?) that the goddess directed upon the earth in her anger (MLW). For the spelling of the first syllable, see West, *Homeri Ilias* i (1998) xxxvi.

2 βροτῶν έριθηλέα[, perhaps followed by φύτλην (cf. Nonn. *D.* 16. 221, 47.692, [Orph.] *Arg* 430, etc.) or γένναν (both MLW). The line may then have begun e.g. λευγαλέως τρ]ύχουσα (MLW), with the angry goddess as subject.

The accusative of έριθηλής, 'very flourishing', is used in this metrical position in the hexameter with substantives such as δζουα (*Il.* 10.467; *QS* 4.249), ποιήν (*h. Hom. Merc.* 27; [Thcoc.] 25.132), γαίαν (*AR* 2.723), κῆπον (*Orac. Sib. fr.* 3.48 G.), άλώήν (Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 1.1.27.32, *PG* 37.501), καρπόν (Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 2.1.1.428, *PG* 37.1002).

3 έπεγήθεε. The imperfect of έπιγηθέω is used absolutely in hexameters in *QS* 12.148, 12.439, Nonn. *D.* 40.311. It governs the dative in *QS* 2.460 and 13.126; cf. also Opp. *H.* 1.570 and 5.633.

δ' ήδη. Cf. *Triph.* 442 έβλεπε δ' ήδη (at verse-end, as here).

4 άριστοτόκεια will follow the caesura. Theoc. 24.73 uses it in the sense 'mother of the best son' of Alcmena, *Triph.* 401 of Hecuba; δυαριστοτόκεια is similarly used by Thetis of herself at *Il.* 18.54. But here there is something to be said for associating it with μ]ο[γ]οατόκος in the next line: MLW suggests supplying at the start *Κυπρογενής και τῆι μ]έν*, to be taken with άντεβόληεν (5).

5 μ]ο[γ]οατόκος (WBH) most likely of Eileithyia as at *Il.* 16.187 and commonly, though there are other possibilities (see LSJ). Nonnus, for example, applies it to Delos in the context of the story of the birth of Apollo and Artemis (*D.* 27.276); cf. 6 n.

άντεβόληε- is common at verse-end as here in hexameters of all periods.

6 κότωι ζηλήμων[. The dative of κότος is attested in hexameters at *Il.* 14.111 και μή τι κότωι άγάσθεε έκαατος and Emp. 31 B 21.11 DK. ζηλήμων is a Homeric *hapax* (Calypso of the gods at *Od.* 5.118). Before the Imperial period it is attested twice more (Call. *Dian.* 30–31 ζηλήμονος Ἥρης / χωομένης; Mosch. *Eur.* 77 χόλον ζηλήμονος Ἥρης); it is commoner in later hexameter poetry and especially in Nonn. *D.* (× 42).

As a curiosity, it may be noted that if lines 3–6 alone had been preserved, one might well have considered supplying ζηλήμον[οα Ἥρης here also (and perhaps ώδίν]ουσα [WBH] at the beginning) and taking the passage to be concerned with Leto's relief (3) at finally being able to give birth to Apollo and Artemis (cf. 4 άριστοτόκεια): τελεαφόρον ήμαρ (8) would also be easily accommodated. But this explanation leaves too much unexplained in what surrounds to stand a chance of being right.

7 line-end, χωομένης (or πε]ριχω- [WBH]) Άφροδίτη[ε or -τη[ι (though the iota might have been omitted in the dative: cf. 6 κότω) or another case. For the dative, cf. Nonn. *D.* 8.189 Ἥρη / χωομένη Σεμέλι και Κύπριδι και Διονύσει; Nonn. *D.* 16.344 (sc. νύμφη) Ὑπνωι χωομένη και

Κύπριδι καὶ Διονύσει. For the genitive, cf. the following passages cited in Kost's note on Musae. 155 *χολωσαμένης δ' Ἀφροδίτης* (but Kost prints the emendation *χολωομένης*): DP 484 *χαλεψαμένης Ἀφροδίτης*, Opp. *H.* 3.405 *χολωσαμένης Ἀφροδίτης*, Nonn. *D.* 31.263 *χολωομένην Ἀφροδίτην*.

A breach of Meyer's Third Law seems unavoidable in our line: there are no suitable words scanning as a single short that may have preceded *χω-*. *χωομένης* is an unmetrical variant reading at Musae. 155, but there is no good reason to suspect corruption here.

Various myths are concerned with Aphrodite's anger towards particular mortals (see, besides Kost, *LIMC* II.1 [pp. 3–4] s.v. Aphrodite). Tyndareus incurred her anger for neglecting to sacrifice to her (Hes. fr. 176 MW; Stesich. *PMGF* 223), Diomedes for wounding her during the Trojan War (e.g. *Σ^b Il.* 5.412; Lyc. *Alex.* 610–13; DP 484; Ov. *Met.* 14.477–8), the Lemnian women (AR 1.614–15; Val. Flacc. 2.98–100; Stat. *Theb.* 5.58–60; Hyg. *fab.* 15; Apollod. 1.9.17) and Myrrha (Apollod. 3.14.4) for not worshipping her (cf. Opp. *H.* 3.405), Hippolytus (Eur. *Hipp.*) and Atalanta (Musae. 155–7; cf. Eur. fr. 530.4 K.) for rejecting marriage (see Kost, pp. 346–9, for a discussion of Musaeus' possible sources), and Hippomenes for neglecting to thank Aphrodite after she helped him win the foot-race against Atalanta through the trick of the golden apples (Ov. *Met.* 10.680–85). (Atalanta's successful suitor is called Meilanion in some versions of this myth, e.g. Apollod. 3.9.2 and Musae. 155–7; see *LIMC* V.1 (p. 465) s.v. Hippomenes.) Cf. also *Il.* 3.413–17 (Aphrodite and Helen). But the story narrated in these lines does not seem to be any of these, and the goddess's wrath appears to be directed at mankind in general (1–2) rather than at some individual or group.

8 *τελεσφόρον ἡμαρ*: 'day bringing fulfilment': cf. *IG* VII 584.3 (Tanagra, v AD) *ἡματι τελεσφόρωι*. In the Homeric epics *τελεσφόρος* occurs in the phrase *τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν* (e.g. *Il.* 19.32; cf. Call. *Ap.* 78 *θῆκε τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον*; Nonn. *D.* 38.238 *πλήσας ἡθάδα μῆνα τελεσφόρον*).

9 (E.g. *πόντου ἀμετρήτου* (WBH)?)

ἀτειρέος. The genitive singular of *ἀτειρής* ('indestructible', 'unbending'/'unyielding') is first attested in authors of the Imperial period (QS, Gr. Naz., Panteleius, Nonn., [Orph.] *L.*), and it stands before the bucolic caesura. The substantive that it qualifies may have followed *αἰψ*[(a)]: cf. e.g. QS 2.176 *μαψιδίως ἀφίκηται ἀτειρέος ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου*; Nonn. *D.* 12.16 (sc. *θυγατέρες . . . Χρόνοι*) *ἰπτάμεναι στεφανηδὸν ἀτειρέος ἠνιοχήος*.

10 *ἄνεσαν* is attested twice in hexameter verse (*Il.* 21.537; AR 1.786), referring in both cases to the opening of gates (LSJ s.v. *ἀνίημι* II.1.b; *DGE* I.3).

ρόδοπήχως is applied both to goddesses (e.g. *h. Hom.* 31.6) and to mortal women (e.g. Nonn. *D.* 35.37). In hexameter verse it occurs in the plural in Nonn. *D.* 47.90 *ρόδοπήχεες Ὠραι* (at verse-end), and the same might be supplied here (ANC): the Seasons are the keepers of the gates of heaven in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 5.749 = 8.393) and have a similar function in Nonnus (e.g. *D.* 2.704). But mortal women (cf. the *θεράπναι* in AR 1.786) could also be the subject (perhaps opening the gates of a palace?).

At the start, perhaps *παλάμιας* (ANC), used in this place in the verse at Nonn. *D.* 15.30, 23.33, 40.562.

11 start, e.g. *πανσαμένη δ' ἔργων* (WBH)? Cf. *Od.* 4.683 *ἔργων παύσασθαι*.

δία Θόλωσα (WBH): Phorcys' daughter, the mother of the Cyclops Polyphemus by Poseidon (mentioned first in *Od.* 1.71), bore this name, as did the mother of Linus by Apollo according to the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (§4 West), and the mother of Priam according to Scamion of Mytilene (fr. **1 Fowler), but none of these is at all likely to be meant here.

12 *χρυσέοις ἐν ἔντεσι* (Lobel) followed by bucolic caesura. Golden arms in hexameter verse are commonly a divine attribute: e.g. *h. Hom.* 28.5–6 (of Athena); Call. *Dian.* 110–11 (of Artemis); QS 9.294 (of Apollo), 12.174–5 (of the Olympians). Mortals too may have golden armour, the most famous example being Glaucus' *τεύχεα* . . . *χρύσεια*, which he unexpectedly exchanges in *Il.* 6.235–6 for Diomedes' bronze armour. Dolon in *Il.* 10.439–41 describes Rhesus' golden arms as being more appropriate to immortals than mortals: *τεύχεα δὲ χρύσεια πελώρια, θαύμα ἰδέσθαι, / ἦλυθ' ἔχων· τὰ*

μὲν οὐ τι καταθνητοῖσιν ἔοικεν / ἀνδρεσσιν φορέειν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν. But it is at least possible that ἔντεα does not refer specifically to fighting gear. It can also be used more generally of 'furniture, appliances, tackle' in various contexts (LSJ s.v. II).

13-14 The caesura presumably follows the first preserved syllable in each of these lines.

fr. 2

· ·
]βλο[
]α.[
]κα.[
 · ·

1]β, on the edge, the right-hand arc of a circle low in the line, with a thin cross-stroke on the line extending to the right to touch λ 2]α, the top of an upright above the level of the top of α, and below the line, an abraded trace 3]κ, only the upper parts]κ, an abraded trace at mid-line level and a speck on the line below its left-hand end

1 βλο[*cur*- (WBH)?

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5105. APOTHEOSIS IN HEXAMETERS

24 3B.70/D(ε)

9.6 × 26 cm

Third century
 Plates VIII-IX

A papyrus leaf with 42 lines of text on each side. From close examination of damaged areas, it appears that the papyrus is composed of two sheets glued together, with the fibres of the internal surfaces running at right angles to each other. A similar physical situation is found in L **3536** (hexameters on glass blowing), but there the literary text is confined to the verso of one of the original sheets, while the other three writing surfaces, including those glued together, have been used for documentary texts. The papyrus used was already in poor condition when the text was written: for example, towards the end of 25 and neighbouring lines, the text runs over a strip of vertical fibres that is turned back on itself, while at 58, the scribe writes on the vertical fibres where the horizontal fibres are missing. This papyrus may be assumed to come from a codex, since the text runs on both sides. On the back, there are remains of a top margin (1.2 cm) and a left margin (0.9 cm), and on the front the lower margin reaches a depth of 1.3 cm. The dimensions of a complete page may have been c.13 × 26 cm, which would place the codex in Turner's Group 8 (breadth half the height; see *The Typology of the Early Codex* 20). The relative order of front (on vertical fibres) and back (on horizontal fibres) is indicated by the outline of the narrative. No sheet-join is visible.

The text is written in a small upright informal hand, showing little cursive tendency. This small, sloppy script might suggest that we are dealing with a private copy. The hand is fairly close to that of LXVIII **4647** (second/third century), but especially to that of LXIII **4352** (c.285), including some later features, like the long vertical strokes of ϕ and ρ . The general level of proficiency of the scribe is comparable with what is to be found there. The hand of LXIII **4352** was compared by the editor with that of the fourth-century codex edited by A. Guida, *Un anonimo panegirico per l'imperatore Giuliano* (1990). The hand of that text, however, is much more regular than what is to be found here.

Diaeresis is found in several places (7, 19, 24 ($\times 2$), 43, 50, 53, 61, 62, 63, 67, 74, 79), as well as apostrophe (2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 25, 28, 31, 39, 40, 54, 55 ($\times 2$), 56 ($\times 2$), 57, 58 ($\times 2$), 59, 66, 70, 82, 84), an acute (4) and three circumflex accents (6, 10, 37); rough breathings (31, 47, 55). Iota adscript is written consistently (5, 15, 19, 25, 39, 50, 51 ($\times 2$), 58, 59, 65, 68, 73, 81). Horizontal strokes are considerably extended at the ends of some lines (7, 9, 13, 22). The scribe has corrected the text in several places by adding letters between the lines (5, 15, 19), and by crossing out letters (6, 15).

The papyrus preserves a narrative in hexameters. A *terminus post quem* for the composition is given by references to Nero (16, 21, 41, 71), whose significance is further discussed below. The narrative begins with a procession (1–10), which includes fawnskins (presumably worn by Maenads), Naiads (or Bacchae?), lynxes, Arimaspeans, and griffins. The last would suit either Apollo or Dionysus, but the general setting seems to favour Dionysus: see C. Delplace, *Le Griffon de l'archaïsme à l'époque impériale* (1980) 365–85, on the gradually increasing role of Dionysus in relation to griffins, starting in the fourth century BC. Aphrodite—presumably associated with this procession—rides her chariot to the dwelling of a young woman (11–14). She finds her heavily pregnant (15–17). She addresses her, saying that she will be established in heaven, where she will be looking after her children (18–22). Nero is mentioned twice in this context (16, 21). The woman must reluctantly leave her mortal husband (23–6) and addresses him in a farewell speech (27–37), before leaving (38–9). At the point where the narrative becomes again understandable, the woman is ascending through heaven. She passes several sublunary bodies (50–51), then the Moon and the Sun (52–4), before crossing the path of the planets: Mercury, Venus, Mars, then Jupiter and Saturn (54–6). She arrives at the fixed stars (57) and reaches her destination, which seems to be the abode of the gods, where she is greeted by a musical performance (58–60). She is seated among the gods (62–4). She takes pleasure in watching a performance put on by the stars (67–8). After another reference to Nero, her journey continues to the northern pole, from which she looks out for her husband (72–4). The remains of the last lines are too scanty to allow a reconstruction of the narrative.

The ascension through heaven follows the arrangement of celestial bodies

given in the summary in Ps.-Eudoxus' *Ars astronomica*, col. vii.5–9 (see F. Blass, *Eudoxi Ars astronomica qualis in charta Aegyptiaca superest* [1887], repr. in *ZPE* 115 [1997] 79–101): οὐρανίου κόσμου τάξις. κόσμος νοεῖται ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἡλίου καὶ πέντε πλανητῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ἀπλανῶν καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρος, 'Disposition of the celestial order. The universe is understood as being made of the Earth, the Moon, the Sun, the five planets, the fixed stars, and the air surrounding Heaven and Earth.' On the order of the planets, see also below, notes on 50 ff. and 55.

Catasterisms are not uncommon, but there is no exact parallel to this narrative in classical mythology. It displays some similarity with the story of Callisto (possibly named at 80), who was turned into a bear and placed in heaven as a constellation, and with that of Queen Berenice II, whose lock found its place among the stars. Heracles also lives among the gods after his death. Dike (also called Astraea, or the Virgin) lives on Earth until the crimes of men force her back to heaven; see esp. Eratosth. *Cat.* 9 and Arat. *Phaen.* 96–136. Several other parallels must be explored, all of which are subject to the limitation of the papyrus' date: the palaeographical dating sets a *terminus ante quem* for the writing of the poem to the third century AD.

The literary and ideological context can be traced back to the reign of the Ptolemies. The Dionysiac procession, and especially the role of Aphrodite in the process of catasterism, are reminiscent of the deification of Berenice I, Ptolemy I Soter's last wife. In his encomium of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (17.34–52), Theocritus states that she did not pass Acheron, but that Aphrodite took her away (48 ἀρπάξασα), set her in her temple, and shared with her some of her honours (50 ἑὰς δ' ἀπεδάσσαο τιμᾶς); see G. Weber, *Dichtung und höfische Gesellschaft* (1993) 215–16. Compare Theoc. 15.106–7 Κύπρι Διωναία, τὸ μὲν ἀθανάταν ἀπὸ θνατᾶς, / ἀνθρώπων ὡς μῦθος, ἐποίησας Βερεϊίκαν. On the establishment of Berenice's cult, see G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches* (1994) 87; on the role of Dionysus in the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies, *ibid.* 91. Berenice was not only awarded divine status, but became loosely assimilated to Aphrodite herself; see Asclepiades (?), *App. Plan.* 68 = ep. 39 G.–P.; Weber, *op. cit.* 252–4. The close link between an Egyptian queen and Aphrodite was perpetuated in the next generation, with the cult of Arsinoe Zephyritis; see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (1972) 197.

Unlike the lady in our poem, Berenice seems to have survived her husband, if we follow the rather speculative argument of K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* iv.2 (1927) 181. This assumption relies on the testimony of *SIG*³ I 390 (a decree passed by the cities of the Aegean islands) and Athen. 5.203a (Callixenus' account of Philadelphus's procession). In the former, which dates from the early reign of Ptolemy II, Ptolemy I appears alone in the context of the penteteric festival of the Ptolemaia. In the latter, both spouses are honoured together 'with three portraits, carried on golden chariots, and with precincts at Dodona'. Thus Berenice may have died between the first and second Ptolemaia.

Another difference lies in the fact that we are dealing with a young and heavily pregnant woman (18: τέκνον; 15–16: εἶρε δ' ἀνασσαν ἐῆς ἐπὶ γαστέρος ὄγκωι / ... μ]ένην). In this respect, she is unlike Berenice at the end of her life. Arsinoe II is closer, and she died before Ptolemy Philadelphus, but the couple remained childless, Arsinoe II adopting the children of Arsinoe I, Philadelphus' first wife. It should be stressed however that throughout the Ptolemaic dynasty, queens were strongly associated with, and often assimilated to, Aphrodite or her Egyptian counterpart Isis, down to the reign of Cleopatra VII; see Hölbl, *op. cit.* 97–9, 265–6, and 278. Cleopatra also stressed the Dionysiac character of her rule; see R. A. Hazzard, *Imagination of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (2000) 152–3.

While our apotheosis does not relate directly to a Ptolemaic queen, Berenice, Arsinoe and their successors provided a model that could have been later applied to the wife of a Roman emperor or of another man of high standing in Roman Egypt.

The lady in our poem apparently dies while she is still young, but is also heavily pregnant. Her death precedes that of her husband, and she is granted apotheosis. An important clue is found in the references to Nero (16, 21, 41, 71). These suggest that the woman is one of Nero's wives. We would thus be dealing with a form of official apotheosis (*consecratio*; see L. Koep and A. Hermann, 'Consecratio II', *RAC* 3 [1957] 284–94). The Julio-Claudian dynasty had already started the process with Julius Caesar himself, whose statue had been erected in the temple of Venus Genetrix, which he had built. On the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, see *Ov. Met.* 15.745–870, esp. 843–51, where he is turned into a comet, the *sidus Iulium*; see E. Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus* (2000) 158–74. Thus the role of Aphrodite in the Ptolemaic dynasty was in a way taken over by the ruling family of Rome.

Nero's first wife, Claudia Octavia, was first repudiated by Nero on the charge of sterility, and later killed on the emperor's orders; a tragedy under the title *Octavia* was—falsely—ascribed to Seneca. Claudia Octavia would hardly fit the figure of the pregnant woman granted apotheosis in this fragment. Poppaea Sabina on the other hand looks like a more suitable candidate. She also appears in the *Octavia*, where she recalls her prophetic dream (712–39). According to Tacitus (*Hist.* 1.22), Poppaea Sabina was keen on astrology and entertained numerous astrologers; see also F. H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics* (1954) 128–30. Nero married her in AD 62 but allegedly killed her four years later in a fit of temper by kicking her in the belly while she was heavily pregnant: see *Suet. Nero* 35.5; *Tac. Ann.* 16.6; *Dio* 62.27.5; R. Mayer, *Historia* 31 (1982) 248–9; F. Holztrattner, *Poppaea Neronis Potens: die Gestalt der Poppaea Sabina in den Nerobüchern des Tacitus* (1995) 130–31.

A kick in the belly of a pregnant woman is a literary *topos*, used especially of tyrants: see e.g. *Hdt.* 3.32.4, where Cambyses is said to have killed his pregnant wife with a kick; *Chariton* 1.4.12, where Chaereas thinks he has killed Callirhoe in that way; *Diog. Laert.* 1.94, where Periander allegedly gives a fatal kick to his pregnant

wife's belly; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 555 Ol., where Herodes Atticus kills his pregnant wife, also with a kick in the belly. That Nero killed Poppaea in this way is likely to be a posthumous invention. Tacitus says that other accounts claimed that Nero had poisoned her. It is a fact, attested in inscriptions, that after Poppaea's death, the Senate honoured her with *consecratio*; Nero was offended by Thrasea's not attending the funeral (Tac. *Ann.* 16.21).

Directly after the passage of our poem where the woman is told that she will be carried to heaven (19), we learn that she is given a reward apparently greater than marriage, and that she will be guarding their children for a long time, presumably while her husband is still alive (21–2). Poppaea Sabina had a daughter by Nero in AD 63, Claudia Augusta; see Tac. *Ann.* 15.23.1. The college of the Arval Brothers fulfilled the vows voted on the occasion of the child's birth; see J. Scheid, *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt* (1998) no. 29 cols. i 19–21 and ii 11–12. The girl, however, died in the fourth month of her life (Tac. *Ann.* 15.23.3). After her mother's death in 65, Nero praised Poppaea Sabina for having given birth to a divine child (*Ann.* 16.6.2 *quod divinae infantis parens fuisset*). She was pregnant at the time of her death, which makes for a second child that was never born. Nero's loss for having no live offspring would have been compensated by the fact that Poppaea Sabina, in heaven, would be taking care of their two children. In 66, both Poppaea Sabina and Claudia Augusta are seen to receive a divine cult from the Arval Brothers (Scheid no. 30 col. i cd 26–7).

If such an interpretation fits our poem, it remains to ask under which circumstances it was written. There are two main possibilities: either it was composed shortly after the death of Poppaea Sabina and continued being copied till the third century, or it is a later composition, written as an exercise on a given topic.

Following the first hypothesis, it should be noted that, just over ten years before Poppaea Sabina's death, Seneca wrote his *Apocolocyntosis*, in which he ridiculed Claudius' death and deification. The wittiness of the *Apocolocyntosis* can be understood only against the background of a practice of serious celebration of an apotheosis, which could presumably have included compositions in verse. Although Seneca in his *Apocolocyntosis* relies on the genre of the Menippean satire, he also parodies the epic tradition in several places by inserting some short passages in hexameters (*Apocol.* 2.1, 2.4, 4.1). If we are to retain the identification of Poppaea Sabina, it seems that such a poem could have been written between the time when the Senate voted the *consecratio* for Nero's deceased wife and the time of Nero's death (June 68). After the emperor's death, Suetonius (*Nero* 57) mentions a few people who still supported the memory of the deceased emperor, but his bad reputation seems to have prevailed—together with the *damnatio memoriae*. The process of deification of Ptolemaic queens, especially Berenice I and Arsinoe II, would have provided the poet with a literary model. Such a poem could in turn belong to the genre that supplied Seneca with a model when he wrote his *Apocolocyntosis*. The

main difficulty in such an argument lies in the dating of the papyrus: if this was a poem celebrating the apotheosis of Poppaea Sabina, it seems rather surprising that it would have continued being copied as late as the third century.

A later date of composition, on the other hand, would fit well the style of the writing. But then how can we explain the choice of a later poet to write on such a remote topic? Poppaea Sabina's death took place two centuries before the text was copied on this papyrus, and the story does not qualify in any way as a popular one in Greek literature: she is mentioned in passing in Plutarch's *Life of Galba* (9.3 and 19.4), and a few times by Flavius Josephus. She is also addressed in an epigram by Leonides of Alexandria (1 AD; *AP* 9.355 = Page, *FGE* 1982–5), where she receives a celestial globe as a birthday present, and is called 'Zeus' bedfellow' (*Διὸς ἐὶνυί*), Nero being equated with Zeus. In **4352**, we find a poet (perhaps Soterichos of Oasis; see E. Livrea, *ZPE* 138 [2002] 17–30) who uses the figure of Antinous around 285, i.e. a century and a half after the youth's lamented death. One should consider, however, that Antinous had become a fixed item in the ideological discourse on imperial power in Egypt. Such is not the case with Poppaea Sabina. Many stories of catasterisms which a poet could still read and use as models in the third century have since been lost; see A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (2004) 103. In any case, this woman seems to have been depicted following a tradition that goes back to the apotheosis of the queens of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

Another point remains unclear: are we dealing with a continuous and coherent narrative, or do we have to reckon with some sort of description embedded within a main narrative? For instance, the description of the procession could belong to an *ekphrasis* of some sort. One should consider the possibility of a poem of circumstance, for instance on the occasion of the death of a high official's wife in Egypt. The story of Poppaea Sabina may have been brought into the narrative as an *exemplum* illustrating how even the emperors find consolation after their spouse's death. This fragment may also belong to a longer poem of astrological contents which included a catasterism. Astrologers had a strong influence at the court of Roman emperors throughout the imperial period; see Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, esp. 145.

As regards formal matters, the poet's style and vocabulary are quite unremarkable. The text shows frequent parallels with a later poem, Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, which can probably be explained by the similarity of topic, but also by the fact that Nonnus' technique was already prevalent in the early Roman empire.

The text is sufficiently preserved to allow a few remarks on the metre. Feminine caesura predominates over masculine, being present in 86% of cases where the choice can be determined (44 feminine versus 7 masculine caesurae), a figure which can be compared with Callimachus' 74%, Quintus' 81%, and Nonnus' 82%; see M. L. West, *Greek Metre* 177. Contraction of the second biceps (35%, i.e. 19 versus 35) is close to the figures found in Quintus (31%) and Nonnus (33%).

One can note a tendency to use it in pairs of two consecutive verses (9/10, 16/17, 54/55, 59/60/61). Contraction of the fourth biceps (16%) is close to Quintus (14%), whereas Dionysius Periegetes has 21%, Oppian's *Halieutica* 20%, Triphiodorus 27%, and Nonnus 29%. Again, contraction of the fourth biceps tends to appear in clusters (57/58, 65/66). Meyer's First Law (West, *Greek Metre* 38, 155) is breached in 21 -οτ]έρην ζε (where however the breach is mitigated by the enclitic) and 74 παπ]ταίνουσα. The poem does not seem to be affected by accentuation, as is common in Nonnus and his followers: in contracted bicipitia, there is no bias in favour of accented (44%) over unaccented (56%) long syllables. In short, it seems that this poet displays a good command of the rules of later hexameter poetry, and more specifically of the kind practised in the Imperial period, but before the changes introduced by Nonnus.

The papyrus was examined on the original, but also using infrared images made by Prof. A. Bülow-Jacobsen. It was restored in many places by Dr Ruey-Lin Chang; high-definition images were made after this process was completed. Several loose fragments were correctly placed by Dr. W. Benjamin Henry. Suggestions made by Dr M. L. West are marked MLW in the commentary; those made by Professor P. J. Parsons, PJP; those made by Dr Chang, RLC; those made by Dr E. Magnelli, EM; those made by Dr Henry, WBH.

front

-] . . . [.] ρ . ουσαποδη[
] . ινεβρειαβαθυςδ'ε . [.
] . σωσοτ'επειικαλ[
] δωνμιαλύγκασαλ . [.
 5] ωιδ'αριμας'πά'καθαψα[
] . ύπε[[π]]σεποντον . [.
] ηγμαδιαυγεϋπ[.] ες
] ψαλιουκατερητ[.] ευκον
] χοςπαμμηνις'ό . [.] . χιαπαρειαις
 10] ηλώποςοτ'ήματος[.] . εχεινυξ
] ενπροθυροισιν . [.] . νηδ'εν . . . α
] υπρογενειαμον[.] υγασωρας
] ρουδεποτ'αλλοσεφαρμα . οσειατοβημα
] . νερωσανεκοψεμογηδ'επερησενεσαυλας
 15] ασευρεδ'ανασσανεησεπιγαστερ[[α]]'όσογκωι
] ενην'καιμηνιπα . ου[.] ετελεσσενερωνι
] κασαιδεςθεισαγοουδ[.] νεχευατοληθ[
] . τοτεκνοναδακρυσε[. .] . εοπαντισεθυμ[
] ετ'αΐδιοσαστρακαθΐδρυετα[. . .] ηγηι
 20] νοσενθενανακτιπο[.] ευχεδεμοιρ[
] ερηνξεμακαιραγαμου[.] κνανερωνι
] . ουσαιωνας . . ου [.] . υλαξεις
] μενηχεροσηγεκατηφεα'μηδεδοθεντι
] ιανθεισανελειπεγαριςο νακοιτην
 25] οισαδινονδεποθωιστενενειπεδ'επακρων
] . μωνπυματοντεχαριζετοδαμφιμελαθροισ
] γουκεβαρυναπ . σιθρονονεισεφυ . αξα[
] φυςμηδ'ημ[.] . ε εμεπ . ψα . ο . . [.
] κοιρανιη . θα ρατο . [.] . ουδ . μεκ . . . [.
 30] οςθαλαμ[. .] δε . . χηνεςφιγξαθυρετρ . . [.
] . ησαλοχουτ'ου . α ονουρανονέ[.
] εφθεγξαιιο . υμ φυσανερεξας[
] ειρο[.] σιςυμ . [.] μπροναγοιγει[
] αχαριστον[.] . απαιδοσατε . [.
 35] . . [.] ουσανα[.] αλλα ` . [.] ροιο[.
] ετε[.] . ητεθ . τεκαι[
] ρείομε'νουςα

front

-]...[.]ρ.ουσαποδη[
]ι νέβρεια, βαθύς δ' ε.[
]ως ὅτ' ἔπεισι καλ[
]δων μία λύγκας αλ.[
 5]ωι δ' Ἄριμας'πά' καθαίψα[
 γ]ρῦπε[[π]]ς ἔποντο ν.[
 ψ]ῆγμα διαυγές ὑπ[.....].....εξ
] ψαλίου κατερητ[υ..... λ]ευκὸν
]χος πάμμηνις· ὁ[.....]χια παρειαίς
 10 τ]ηλώπος ὅτ' ἤματος [ἀντιφ]λέγει νύξ.
 ἔστη δ' ἐν προθύροιςιν [.....]νηδ'εν...α
 Κ]υπρογένεια μόν[η τετράζ]υγας Ὠρας
]ς οὐδέ ποτ' ἄλλος ἔφ' ἄρματος εἶσατο βῆμα.
]ον Ἐρωσ ἀνέκοψε, μόνη δ' ἐπέρησεν ἐς αὐλὰς
 15]ας, εὔρε δ' ἄνασσαν ἐῆς ἐπὶ γαστέρ[[α]]ὸς ὄγκωι
 μ]ένην· καὶ μηνὶ πα.ου[.] ἐτέλεσσε Νέρωνι
]κας αἰδεσθεῖσα, γόου δ' [ἐ]νεχεύατο λήθ[ην
 καὶ φ]άτο· “τέκνον, ἄδακρυς ἐ[πε]ίχσο· παντί σε θυμ[ῶι
 προσδέχ]εταί Διὸς ἄστρα καθιδρύετα[ί τε]λε]ήνηι
 20]νος ἔνθεν ἄνακτι πο[..... τ]εῦχε δὲ Μοῖρ[α
 -οτ]έρην σε, μάκαιρα, γάμου [. . . τέ]κνα Νέρωνι
]ους αἰῶνας . . ου.....[.] φυλάξεις.”
 ὡς φα]μένη χερὸς ἦγε κατηφέα μηδὲ δοθέντι
]ιανθεΐσαν· ἔλειπε γὰρ ἴσον ἀκοίτην
 25 ἀθανάτ]οις, ἀδινὸν δὲ πόθωι στένεν· εἶπε δ' ἐπ' ἄκρων
 στᾶσα δ]όμων πύματόν τε, χαρίζετο δ' ἀμφὶ μελάθροις·
 “]ν οὐκ ἐβάρυνα, πόσι, θρόνον, εἴ σ' ἐφύλαξα [
]φυσ μηδ' ἦμ[.].ε.....εμεπ.ψα.ο..[
]κοιρανίη .θα.....ρατο[.].ουδ.μεκ...[
 30]ος θαλαμ[.].δε.χην ἔσφιγξα θυρέτρ[οι]ς
]ης ἀλόχου τ' οὐ.α.....ον οὐρανὸν εἶ[
]ξε φθέγξαιο .υμ...φῦσαν ἔρεξας [
]ειρο[.].σι κυμ[.].λα]μπρὸν ἀνοίγει[
] ἀχάριστον [. . . .].α παιδὸς ατε.[
 35]..[.]ουσανα[.....]αλλα `.[.]ροιο[
]...ετε[.....]ητεθ.τεκαί[
]..σεῖο μένουσα.”

40]φατολυσεδεθαιρους[
]ονας·αμφιδ'ανασχη[
].ναρμασιδ'αηρ[
]ανο·ηδενερων[
].λ...[.]ναυκοναδι.[

back

]ωνιτυς[
]οι·καιτερμονεσομβ[
 45].χειμωνακαλευ[
].αιφ[.].....[
]ιχασου[.]νάλωες[
].εροσενθαμ...ντ[
 κυμφε...[.....],...ψαφαραι...αα.[
 50 ·ϊσταντα·δοκι[.....]νθαδιοστεδιαι[
 ηχιπιθοιτε...[...].φρεαρηχιτελ.[
 ..ι...αι[.]ιπω[.]ολ[...].εκμαρ[.]τελλομ[
 ..].....υπερ...[.....]λαυκωπιδοσαντι.[
 ηελιουτ'αψιδακ[.....].[.]ληναιογ[
 55 κυπρισεοντ'ηλαυνεπαρεςπεροναλλ'ότ[
 ζωνηντ'αιγιοχοιορ...τ'επερησενακοι...[
 ..]υμβαλεναπλανεεσσιθεμιδ'ηπλωσεν.[
 ..].....αε·αιδ'απ[.]ηκανοληιδ'ηειδογα.[
]νιηι·μο[.....]τεσυνηντεον·ουδ'ες[
 60 ..]η·αμεγανβ[.....]ησενεπειζαθεοιονεφ[
 ..]υραναιεξειθ[.....].ηϊ...ναμφιδεμιτρ.[
 χειτ...ρη[.....].ονεπιθρονονιζεμυδ[
 .εξιτ...[.....].εγεγηθοτεσιζανον.[
 .αιμ·ν...ουδετ·τερπνονελειπετ[.]·νε.[
 65 πατροσεδη·φοιβοιμεναποθρωικοντε[
 αετρεε·εσδυσιαδ'·εκωνωλιεθανενα.[
 ηδεχορονμακαρων·αθαρηευπενερθε[
 ..][.]μενηθηειτοδ·κευεδεμητικακοιτηι[
 ...].....δεμο...[...].νευχετομεσφακ.[
 70 ..][...][...][π[.]να...ο...νθεοναλλ'ενεκυ[
 ..]κ·ις...[.]τινερωνοσπει...[
 εστεμενηκ·ι[...].ηλυθ...θα.[
 ..].εδεταιβορεη·περασαξονοσενθε.[

40] φάτο, λῦσε δὲ θαιρούς {
]ονας· ἀμφὶ δ' ἀνάσσει {
].ν, ἄρμασι δ' ἀήρ {
]ανο· ἦ δὲ Νέρων[-
].λ...[.]ν Αὔρονα διῶ[ν

back

45 }ων ἴτυς {
]οι· καὶ τέρμονες ὄμβ[ρ
]. χεიმῶνα καλεῦ[
] καὶ φαν...[
]ι χάους [.]ν ἄλωες[
] ἥερος ενθαμ...ντ[
 κυμφερ...[.....]αις ψαφαραῖς .αα.[
 50 ἴστανται δοκί[δες τε μινυ]νθάδιός τε διά[σσων
 ἦιχι πίθοι τε...[...]. φρέαρ ἦιχί τε λα[μπάδες
 ...ι...σι[.]ιπων[.]ολ[...].τεκμαρ.[.]τελλομ[εν-
 ...].... ὑπερ...[..... γ]λαυκώπιδος ἀντί ς[ελήνης
 Ἡελίου τ' ἀψίδα κ[αὶ ἀστέρα Κ]υ[λ]ληναῖον
 55 Κύπρις ἑόν τ' ἤλαυνε παρ' Ἑσπερον· ἀλλ' ὄτ' [Ἄρηα
 ζώνην τ' Αἰγιοόχοιο Πέρις τ' ἐπέρησεν ἀκοίτη[ν,
 ς]ύμβαλεν ἀπλανέεσσι, Θέμις δ' ἠπλωσεν.[
 ...]....ας· αἰ δ' ἀπέ[β]ησαν· ὄληι δ' ἠεῖδον ἀπ[αντες
 ἄρμον]νίηι· Μο[ύσαι] τε συνήντεον, οὐδ' ες[
 60 ...]η.α μέγαν β[λάστ]ησεν ἐπεὶ ζαθέοιο νέφ[ους ἔξ
 ο]ύρανιάις εἶθ[... π]αρηίειν, ἀμφὶ δὲ μίτρη[ν
 χεῖτο ...ρη[.....].ον ἐπὶ θρόνον ἴζε μυδ[
 δεξιτερῆ[ι· πάντες] δὲ γεγηθότες ἴζανον ἀ[μφὶς
 δαίμονες· οὐδέ τι τερπνὸν ἐλείπετ[ο]· νῆ.[
 65 πατρὸς ἔδη· φοιβοὶ μὲν ἀποθρώσκοντε[ς
 ἀστῆρες, ἐς δύσιας δ' ἀέκων ὠλίεθανεν Ἄρ[ης·
 ἦ δὲ χορὸν μακάρων καθαρῆς ὑπένερθε[
 ...][.]μένη θηεῖτο, δόκευε δὲ μή τις ἀκοίτη
 ...]....δεμο...[...].ν εὔχετο μέεφα κ.[
 70 ...][...][...][π[.]να...ο...νθεον ἀλλ' ἐνέκυ[ρς-
 ...]κ.ις...[...].τι Νέρωνος ἐπει...[
 ἔστε μὲν ηκ.ι[...].ηλυθ.ν ἔνθα.[
 ἐν]δέδεται Βορέηι πέρας ἄξονος ἐνθε[ν]

...] ταιουσα κυν[.] υνονῦποκνεφας . [
 75 ...] . . ουγλυκυφ[.] . ιαπλοον . . . ο . [
 ...] . ροται . . . [.] εουσελα[
 . [. .] αστροις αρ . . [.] αιπρωτ[
 μαζονοση [.] πλα[
 .] ιθεωνβορε . [
 80 τυτθαδεκαλλις . . [
 . . ινωιιδονιος . [
 . .] ωσετ' αφ . . . [
 . .] αγωναιτηρουσιτ[
 . .] ξειδ' α . . α . . [

1 foot of vertical below line level, then two traces at line level; ρ: low descending stroke; then low and mid-level specks 2 right part of curved letter, perhaps ο; end, an upright 3 right part of curved letter, perhaps ο 4 speck between λ and right edge of papyrus, x possible instead of λ 6 mid-level thick speck; over following γ, horizontal stroke and trace shaped like a grave accent; at end of line, remains of vertical stroke 7 η: horizontal ending in a loop, joined to vertical stroke; after gap, low speck; then lower part of curved letter; bottom of two vertical strokes joined at top to horizontal; then lower part of vertical stroke; ε: upper curve missing; the cap of σ is extended; an unexplained trace resembling the right-hand side of η touches the extended cap towards the end of the preserved part 8 vertical stroke crossed at mid-level by horizontal, then small break 9 the left-hand end of an oblique ascending from left to right, e.g. λ or μ; after gap, right part of loop at mid-level; after x (damaged in centre), remains of a vertical stroke 10 tiny mid-level speck before ε 11 left part of slightly curved letter on edge of gap; after gap, high loop open at top; at end of line, remains of vertical stroke, followed by smudge then λ 12 high trace of ascending oblique stroke 13 high horizontal stroke joined to following ο; after αρμα, remains of vertical stroke lost in crease 14 low trace on edge of break 16 after πα, to which πο seems an acceptable alternative, abraded traces compatible with the left-hand side of η; ερω: lower left part of curved letter, with upper right speck, then top of small round letter with traces of long descender, then two mid-level large dots 17 instead of]κ,]μ also possible 18 low speck, and another speck above left end of following τ, perhaps ε; after gap, the top of an upright; the end of a high cross-bar touching ε 19 ηη now represented only by the upper right-hand corner of η and the upper parts of both uprights of η, but given as certain in a partial transcript made by E. Lobel 20 πο[: perhaps πα], although this oval-shaped letter looks very much like the ο of Διοσ (19); ρ: traces along edge of papyrus 21 c: lower part of curve, traces above suggest that scribe may have added a letter above the line; ε: bottom right part of curve, with right end of mid-level horizontal and high speck at right; γ: high descending oblique joined to low ascending oblique; much of ερω together with the end of the cap of the final sigma of 22 preserved on a loose fragment present in a photograph but currently missing 22 speck of ink above first ο; c: mid-level horizontal sticking out on right of narrow gap; then vertical stroke, joined to mid-level horizontal, itself joined to curve; after ογ, mere speck followed by another long descending vertical, another speck, then lower part of curved letter; then mere traces of two letters 24 space between ο and η 25 right part of small curved letter 26 base of a round letter 27 after φγ, only two traces at line level; ζ: large high curve with thick dot underneath and trace of base 28 after ημ, small gap followed by remains of vertical stroke; after ε, ascending curve followed by

παπ]ταίνουσα σύν[ε]υνον ὑπὸ κνέφας.[
 75 ...]...ου γλυκὺ φ[.....]...ιαπλοον...ο.[
 ...].ροται...[.....]εου σελα[
 .[.] ἄστροις ἀρ...[.....]αι πρωτ[
 μαζόν, ὄσην ...[.....]πλά[
 ἦ]ϊθέων Βορέα[-
 80 τυτθὰ δὲ καλλιστ.[
 κείνωι Cιδόνιος κ[
 γν]ώσετ' ἀφ...[
 ..]αγον αἰτήσουσι τ[
 ..]ξεις δ' α...α...[

descending curve, perhaps μ; then remains of three vertical strokes, then high horizontal with remains of two vertical strokes underneath (π?); after επ, mere traces; †: mid-level horizontal, with vertical starting in the middle, and traces underneath; after †α, low trace; after ο, descending curve attached to top of short vertical stroke, then another vertical stroke and tiny traces before break 29 after η, mere smudge; θ: rounded letter with horizontal stroke in middle, ε also possible; after α, remains of small circle (perhaps ο or ρ), then thick dot, vertical stroke, two mid-level dots; after το, lower part of curved letter; after gap, high dot; after Δ, smudge; at end of line, small rounded letter (perhaps ο), then small loop with descending stroke underneath (perhaps ρ), then smudge with long stroke descending from the right 30 μ: beginning of ascending curve attached to preceding α; after Δε, small ascending curve, followed by long vertical stroke, perhaps φ or †; x: only right ends sticking out of damaged papyrus; ε: top of curve missing; at end of line, top of small rounded letter; then mid-level trace, then remains of long vertical stroke 31 mid-level horizontal joined to following η; γ: ascending oblique, followed by scanty remains of mid-level horizontal with apostrophe and dot at line level; second γ: remains of V-shaped letter; then mid-level speck; after α, traces suggesting an upright, then rubbed traces, perhaps αρ or similar, then a long vertical stroke along break; after οη, trace of a mid-level loop, with long low vertical stroke, perhaps φ; after α, vertical stroke joined to sharply descending stroke 32 after ο, short high vertical stroke, each end attached to a short stroke so as to form a small triangle, point of which touches top left end of following γ; after μ, short vertical followed by two specks; before φ, perhaps α rather than ο 33 after μ, smudge; η: two vertical strokes 34 after gap, remains of mid-level horizontal stroke with speck below, either π or τ; at end of line, τ much erased; after ε, an upright and the left-hand end of a cross-stroke on the line 35 two high traces, the second the left-hand side of a loop; above α, small thick round letter 36 upper remains of two vertical strokes joined to a mid-level horizontal (perhaps η or η), then mid-level horizontal joined to following ε; after gap, high horizontal joined to following η; after θ, mere trace of one letter 37 right edge of narrowly curved letter 40], a high trace 41 ., faint traces on damaged surface, η perhaps not excluded 42], a cross-stroke on the line and a high trace ...[, perhaps ε or ε; an upright joined to a cross-bar at its top end and closely followed by another upright], a high speck 45 upright 46 high trace linked to following α; after φ, traces at letter-top level followed by the lower parts of about four letters 47 the presumed rough breathing is attached on the right to the base of a circle 48 low traces; before ητ, mere speck 49 mere traces; after gap, bottom right part of α; after restoration, ιc readable; at end of line, perhaps top left part of η 50 α: high loop; then high speck, possibly ι; ο: small rounded letter, damaged in centre; then upper part of vertical stroke

51 mere specks; after gap, mid-level speck; on right edge, after λ, lower left part of a curve, perhaps α
52 high speck, then high loop, vertical stroke, descending oblique, high speck; after c, vertical stroke;
before κμαρ, high trace joined to top of curved letter 53 scattered traces; after ῥπερ, low and
high part of curved letter followed by short vertical stroke; at end of line, mid-level speck 54 after
αψιΔ, bottom left part of curve (presumably α), then vertical stroke joined to ascending oblique,
possibly κ; after gap, mere trace; λ: descending oblique 56 ο: only bottom part of curve; after
ρ, vertical stroke, slightly curved rightwards, then smudge; at end of line, a low and a high speck, fol-
lowed by two low specks 57 γ: ascending oblique; mid-level speck on right edge of papyrus
58 top of two vertical strokes, then hooked top of letter, followed by two obliques joining at top (Δ,
α, λ), then a vertical stroke and illegible traces; after απ, a cross-bar on vertical fibres; cα, the lower
part of the loop of α written on vertical fibres where the top layer is missing; end of line, high trace
60 a low speck, then feet and top right part of η, then smudge; horizontal stroke of τ barely visible;
at end of line, end of long vertical stroke under line level 61 after gap, unidentified letter joined
to a small circle, probably top of ρ; after ι, top left part of curved letter, followed by top of vertical
stroke, perhaps cι 62 upper left part of curve, then mere smudge; small circle remaining from
ρ, then top half of η; at end of line, low hook with oblique stroke above 63 end of two strokes
joining at angle; after τ, low hook with mid-level horizontal, then more high specks; after gap, gently
descending stroke joined to cross-bar of ε; at end of line, a low and a high speck 64 low traces;
after αι, ascending oblique curve, possibly μ, then mid-level trace; after η, two high traces 65 β:
low curve and trace of mid-level horizontal; ι: traces of vertical stroke 66 α smudge, then
curved letter, part of high horizontal, mere trace; after Δ', low and mid-level speck, followed by bot-
tom part of curved letter; at end of line, the lower part of an upright on the edge 67 short
vertical at mid-level 68 high speck on edge of break; of Δ, only top remains, followed by a high
trace 69 indistinct high traces; after μο, mere traces; after gap, tiny speck, followed by mid-
level horizontal; end, perhaps base of ε 70].. [(first), low traces, the second of a stroke gently
ascending].. [(second), a high cross-bar; traces suggesting two uprights with vestigial remains of
a cross-bar on the edge in between . . ., close to α, a high cross-bar, then a descender,
perhaps η; a trace at mid-line level; an apex; perhaps α 71 high and low traces on edge of
papyrus; after κ, long vertical stroke with high traces on either side; after ιc, scattered traces; high
point over next ι, perhaps as punctuation; ωnoc: cap of c much extended; after επει, roof-shaped
letter, λ or left part of μ; then traces 72 before ι, faint remains of rounded letter; after ι, high
trace; before and after ηλγθ, mere traces 73 low trace close to ε; before π, high trace; end of
line, vertical stroke 74 end, the upper left-hand arc of a circle 75 two vertical strokes;
after gap, two horizontal strokes joined to a vertical; end, before ο, confused traces, the last of the
letters represented being joined to ο at its base; after ο, perhaps τ or π 76 end of descending
oblique, perhaps α; after αι, top of curved letter, perhaps c; then high horizontal, top of curved let-
ter, high speck 77 low part of curved letter, perhaps α; after ρ, low traces 78 z: undulat-
ing low horizontal stroke, top of letter damaged; before break, low and mid-level traces 79 at
end of line, top of roof-shaped letter, perhaps α 80 high horizontal joined to top end of c, but
for most part broken off, with low remains of vertical, perhaps τ; then low part of curved letter
81 top ends of vertical and ascending strokes, then ascending curve joined at mid-level to horizontal,
presumably κε; at end of line, two high thick specks, with trace of low curve underneath 82 ...[,
an oblique ascending from left to right joined at its left end by an oblique ascending more steeply, with
traces suggesting another oblique parallel to the first at a higher level; the lower arc of a circle with
above it a long oblique ascending from left to right; perhaps ε 83 τ[, the left-hand end of the
cross-bar and traces at letter-top level and mid-line level of the upright 84 . . ., an upright;
perhaps another upright . . .[, specks; abraded traces including an upright, followed by a low trace

- . . .
 . . . of a fawn, and deep . . .
 . . . when they are upon (? . . .)
 . . . one of the . . . lynxes . . .
 5 . . . Arimaspean . . .
 . . . griffins followed . . .
 . . . shining gold dust . . .
 (. . . with the . . .) of the curb-chain she restrained the white . . .
 . . . lighted by the full-moon . . . cheeks . . .
 10 . . . when night blazes in response to far-seeing day.
 (She stood) in the porch . . .
 . . . Cyprus-born (Aphrodite) alone . . . the (fourfold) Seasons
 . . . and no one else ever set foot on the chariot
 Eros pushed back (the bolt), but she alone went through towards the . . . court;
 15 she found the lady . . . over the swelling of her belly;
 . . . month, she accomplished for Nero
 the . . . with respect; she instilled oblivion of wailing
 and said: "My child, stop crying and hurry up: with all their heart,
 Zeus' stars welcome you and establish you on the moon
 20 whence . . . ruler. Fate has made
 you more . . . than marriage, you blessed one; your children for Nero
 you will guard for eternity . . ."
 Having thus spoken, (Aphrodite) led her by the hand; she was downcast and did not
 rejoice in the offered (favour). For she was leaving her husband, (a man) equal
 25 to the gods, and she moaned loudly from her longing. Standing on the rooftop, she spoke
 her last words, and brought pleasure about the house:
 "I did not burden the . . . throne, my husband, if I protected you
 . . .
 . . . sovereignty . . .
 30 . . . bedroom . . . I pressed . . . door . . .
 . . . wife . . . heaven . . .
 . . . utter . . . you did . . . jet (?) . . .
 . . . shining . . . opens . . .
 34 unpleasant (?) . . . child . . .
 . . .
 37 . . . you . . . staying."
 . . . she spoke, and she opened the doors . . .
 . . . for the sake (?) of the lady . . .
 40 . . . , and the air . . . chariot
 . . . , and she . . . Nero
 . . . noble Auson
 . . . the rim of the . . .
 . . . and the boundaries . . . storm . . .
 45 . . . call winter . . .
 . . .
 . . . expanse . . . haloes . . .
 . . . air . . .
 . . . powdery . . .

- 50 . . . meteors stand with the short-lived shooting-star
 where (there are?) jar-shaped comets, a . . . well and where metcors
 . . . boundless (?) . . .
 . . . in place of the green-gazed moon
 the Sun's orbit and the Cyllenacan star (= Mercury)
- 55 Cypris (went beyond?), and drove past her Evening star (= Venus); but when she passed Mars,
 and the belt of the Aegis-bearer (= Jupiter) and Rhea's bedfellow (= Saturn),
 she met the fixed stars and Themis spread out . . .
 . . . they stepped down, and all sang in complete
 harmony, and the Muses joined them, nor . . .
- 60 . . . he put forth a large . . . when, out of a divine cloud,
 . . . with heavenly cheeks, and around her girdle
 poured . . . sat her on a throne . . .
 on the right, and (all) the gods rejoicing sat (round about);
 nor was anything delightful left behind: . . .
- 65 the father's abodes: the bright stars springing away . . .
 and (Mars) slipped under compulsion to the west.
 Under a clear (moon), the dance of the blessed (gods)
 she viewed . . . , but watched in case some . . . her husband
 . . . prayed until . . .
- 70 . . . but . . .
 . . . Nero . . .
 until . . . came . . . where . . .
 the pole is fixed for Boreas, from where (the lady)
 looking around for her husband under the darkness . . .
- 75 . . . sweet . . .
 . . .
 . . . stars . . . first . . .
 breast, . . .
 young . . . Boreas (? . . .)
- 80 small . . . most beautiful . . .
 that . . . Sidonian . . .
 . . . will know . . .
 . . . will ask . . .
 . . . and you will . . .'

Front

The space available in the missing portion of papyrus on the left in the upper part allows for supplements in most lines of *c.* 4–6 letters, or the equivalent of 2–3 syllables. On the basis of the likeliest supplements (e.g. 11, 18, 25, 26), other proposals for filling gaps work as cumulative evidence.

2 *νέβρεια*. The *νέβρις*, 'fawnskin', is worn by Maenads; see M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* i (31967) 570; I. Krauskopf and E. Simon, 'Mainades', *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997) 798 and ill. 'Mainades' 38. A link between Aphrodite and Dionysos or a Dionysiac procession is not altogether surprising; see e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 224–5; *Anacreontea* 4, 14–21. Dionysos and Aphrodite are frequently pictured on the same vase, one side showing Aphrodite in the Judgment of Paris, and the other displaying Dionysos with Maenads. A more interesting parallel, however, is to be found on a vase of Attic style from Italy, dated to the fourth century BC, where Aphrodite appears with a second individual on a chariot drawn by two Erotes, surrounded by Maenads, Satyrs and Erotes; see Beazley *ARV*² 1417.1

= CIA, London, British Museum 6 Ic, plates 101–2. The second individual has been tentatively identified as a goddess, perhaps Hera.

βαθὺς δ' ἐ[. Word division is warranted by the presence of an elision sign on the papyrus. We cannot restore the following word and therefore cannot determine which confusion the scribe was trying to avoid.

3 αὔτ]φς ὡς or οὔτ]φς ὡς MLW.

4]δων μία. Either *Νηϊά]δων*, or *Βακχιά]δων* (PJP), or better *Βακκαρί]δων* (EM). Here a reading *Μαινά]δων* is not allowed by the metre. Naiads belong to the broader category of Nymphs, who are often associated with Dionysiac processions, together with the Maenads (see 2, n.). In epic poetry, *Νηϊάδων* is to be found only in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (10 occurrences, of which 5 at the beginning of the verse). For *Βακχιάδων*, see Nonn. *D.* 36.464, at the beginning of the verse. *Βακκαρίδων* is common in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, with 30 examples at the beginning of a hexameter. It is not attested elsewhere in epic, but cf. Call. fr. 743 Pf. *κέντορι Βακκαρίδων*.

5 Ἄριμασπᾶ καθαιψα[. The one-eyed Arimaspeans are a mythical people mentioned by Herodotus in his description of the Scythians (3.116.1, 4.13.1, 4.27.1); he himself relies on the testimony of the poet Aristaeus of Proconnesus; see A. Bernabé, *Poetae epici graeci* i 144–54; A. Ivantchik, *AC* 67 (1993) 35–67. Arimaspeans live in the North (see Aristaeus fr. 5 Bernabé and Plin. *Nat.* 7.10); they fight the griffins, who are keepers of gold (see Paus. 1.24.6). This procession could suggest that here they are reconciled by the goddess (EM). On Arimaspeans, see A. Corcella, in D. Asheri et al., *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV* (2007), on Hdt. 4.27. For the forms of the name cf. Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* a 423 Billerbeck et al. *Ἀριμασποί· ἔθνος Ὑπερβορέων. τὸ κτητικὸν Ἀριμάσπειος*. WBH observes that the occurrence here of the hitherto unattested neuter plural form *Ἀριμασπά* lends support to the conjecture of G. Hermann (ed.), *Orphica* (1805) 196–7, at *Orph. Arg.* 1063, *Ἄρσωπᾶς τ', Ἀριμασπά τ' ἔθνη, πολυπάμονα* (so Gesner) *λαόν*, where the manuscripts are reported as giving *ἄρσωπᾶς τ' ἀριμάσθας* (or *-άσπας*) *ἔθνη πολυπήμονα λαών*. Perhaps *ἔθνη* is to be supplied in our verse too, at line-end (WBH). The use of *Ἀριμασπός* as an adjective is unexceptionable in itself: cf. e.g. [Aesch.] *PV* 2 *Κυόθην ἐς οἶμον*.

6 γ]ρῦπε[[π]ς. The circumflex accent was written in two strokes; a long *v* is in any case required by the metre. The *ς* is a correction from the *π*. On griffins, who are composite animals with the body of a lion and eagle's beak and wings, see Ctesias, *FGrHist* 688 F 45h (Aelian, *NA.* 4.27). See also D. Asheri, in Asheri et al., op. cit. (5 n.), on Hdt. 3.116.1; D. Lenfant (ed.), *Ctésias: La Perse; l'Inde; autres fragments* (2004) 324 n. 912. On the griffins as keepers of gold, see Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 2.12.120.1 *διὰ τοῦτο τοὶ μύρμηκες χρυσεωρυχοῦσι, καὶ γρῦπες χρυσοφυλακοῦσι*; Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* s.v. *Ταρκυνία: εἰςὶ καὶ Ταρκυναῖοι ἔθνος Ὑπερβορέων, παρ' οἷς οἱ γρῦπες τὸν χρυρὸν φυλάσσουσιν, ὡς Ἱεροκλῆς ἐν τοῖς φιλίστορσιν*. A play by Plato (the comic poet) bore the title *Γρῦπες* (T 1 Kassel–Austin).

7 ψ]ῆγμα. A reading ζε]ῦγμα would not fit the traces of the damaged letter, where the right loop of eta is visible. At the beginning of the line, perhaps *χρυσοῦ* (WBH).

8] ψαλίου κατερητ[υ. λ]ευκόν. E.g. *ἰμάντι* (or *ρύτηρι*) *ψαλίου κατερήτ[υεν αὐχένα λ]ευκόν*, 'with the strap of the curb-chain she restrained the (horse's) white neck' (PJP). Strictly speaking, however, the *ψάλιον* does not restrain the neck, but the chin.

9]χος πάμμηνις . . . παρειαῖς. Beginning, perhaps *ἀκρόνυ]χος* (WBH), 'at nightfall' (agreeing with the subject of the previous line, and to be separated from what follows by a comma). See on this word Gow on Theoc. fr. 3.3. The presence of the Moon and of cheeks together in the same verse could be explained in several ways: the moon could be shining on the horse's cheeks; or it could be shining on the goddess' cheeks. See also 61 ο]υρανίαις . . . [π]αρηΐζειν.

10 τ]ηλώπος. If this is nominative singular, the presence of a circumflex accent on *ω* goes against Herodian's opinion (*pros. cath.* III.1, p. 188 Lentz, reconstructed on the basis of Theognostus 69.6) on the accentuation of such words: *ἐτι τὰ ἐπιθετικά σύνθετα τῷ ω παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται αἵματωπός, κελαινωπός, πολυωπός, εὐωπός, τηλωπός, χαρωπός, μελανωπός, πελιωπός*. Thus the

purpose of the accent here may be to indicate that this word is to be taken not as the nominative *τηλωπός* but rather as the genitive *τηλωπός* of an otherwise unattested *τηλώψ*, similar in construction to *τυφλώψ*, gen. *τυφλώπος* 'blind-eyed'. The sense may be either passive, 'seen from afar', or active, 'far-seeing': for the latter, cf. *Orph. Arg.* 900 *τηλώπις ἄνασσα*, 'la Souveraine qui voit au loin' (Vian).

[ἀντιφ]λέγει νύξ PJP. τ for Γ cannot be ruled out, but would look a bit short on the left. With γ, a compound form of *φλέγω* looks virtually certain. The presence of the full moon in the previous line brings an echo of Pind. *O.* 3.19–20 *διχόμηις ὄλον χρυσάρματος / ἐσπέρας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε Μῆνα* 'the half-moon with its golden chariot made its whole eye shine back in the evening'.

11 ἔστη δ'] ἐν προθύροισιν PJP, as at *Od.* 8.304. The plural ἔσταν δ' ἐν προθύροισιν (*Od.* 8.325, 10.220) cannot be ruled out altogether. The singular, however, would better suit μόν[η (12) and μόνη δ' ἐπέρησεν ἐς αὐλάς (14).

12 Κ]υπρογένεια μόν[η τετράζ]υγας Ὠρας. Perhaps ἡγαγε Κ]υπρογένεια (EM). The Hours are linked to Aphrodite in Hes. *Op.* 74–5, in the story of Pandora. They keep the gates of heaven: see *Il.* 5.749 and 8.393, where Hera and Athena leave on a chariot. See also Nonn. *D.* 38.298 and 331, where the Hours assist Phaethon before he rides Helios' chariot. Here, however, it seems that they are taken as the four periods of the year, i.e. the Seasons. See Nonn. *D.* 25.364 and 41.184 (*τετράζυγες Ὠραι*). In Nonn. *D.* 9.12, they watch over the birth of Dionysus (*λεχωίδες . . . Ὠραι*). On the multiple roles of the Seasons, see P. Chuvin (ed.), *Nonnos de Panopolis: Les Dionysiaques* ii (1976) 141–2, note on 3.196. The fourfold aspect of the Seasons, as well as their function in overseeing birth, is probably associated with the four parts of the sky, or *κέντρα*, used in horoscopes (*ὠροκόπος / μεουράνημα / δύσις / ὑπόγειον*). See also Nonn. *D.* 12.169 *τετράζυγι κόσμω*.

14]ον Ἔρωσ ἀνέκοψε. The proximity to Aphrodite (12: Κ]υπρογένεια) suggests Ἔρωσ rather than an adverb, e.g. *κρατερῶς* (which would be palaeographically impossible) or *φανερῶς*. This finds confirmation in the frequent presence of Eros in epic at this place in the verse, usually preceded by an adjective, e.g. *βαιὸς Ἔρωσ* (Nonn. *D.* 1.46; 7.271) or *ξυνὸς Ἔρωσ* (Nonn. *D.* 6.12). The verb *ἀνέκοψε*, however, needs an object, which is probably lurking in the gap at the beginning of the verse: cf. *Od.* 21.47 *ἐν δὲ κληῖδ' ἦκε, θυρέων δ' ἀνεκοπτεν ὀχῆας*. One could thus restore either *μοχλ]όν* or *κληῖθρ]ον*. For the use of *μοχλός* in the singular in the epics, see e.g. *Od.* 9.382 *οἱ μὲν μοχλὸν ἐλόντες ἐλάϊνον*; for a similar use of *κληῖθρον*, *h. Merc.* 146 *μεγάροιο διὰ κληῖθρον ἔδυνεν* '(Hermes) slipped in through the lock of the house'. This leaves us with the slight difficulty that there is no connective.

14–15 ἐς αὐλάς | [– ∨] ας. One could restore ἐς αὐλάς | [αἴθοπ] ας: see Nonn. *D.* 32.51 *Ἥελίοιο μετέρχομαι αἴθοπας αὐλάς*. Although 'shining' is more obviously suited to the gates of the Sun's palace, it would not seem out of place in the case of a royal house.

15 ἄνασσαν. The word *ἄνασσα* is used of queens, especially in an Oriental setting; see e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 155 and Isocr. *Ev.* 72. In *OGIS* I 56.111, we find *Βερενίκης ἀνάσσης παρθένων*. It is used also of a Ptolemaic queen in Call. fr. 112.2 Pf. Here, it could presumably be applied to a member of the emperor's family.

15–17 ἦς ἐπὶ γαστέρος ὄγκωι . . . αἰδεσθεῖσα. See [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 3 *αἰδεσθεῖσαν τὸ συμβὰν διὰ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς γαστρός*, where a girl from Ios is made pregnant by a follower of the Muses (*γενομένην ὑπὸ τινος δαίμονος τῶν κυγχορευτῶν ταῖς Μούσαις ἐγκύμονα*); she eventually gives birth to Homer.

16 μ]ένην. *τειρομ]ένην*, 'distressed', or perhaps *μυρομ]ένην* (WBH), 'weeping', since we expect, following *εὔρε*, to be told what Aphrodite saw, and not merely how the lady felt: cf. 17 γόου.

μηνὶ πα. ου[.] ἐτέλεσσε Νέρωνι. πόγου[ς (WBH) seems possible. Then *Νέρωνι* seems difficult to escape: see also 21, 41, 71. Ν is certain; of ε, the lower left part of a curve is preserved; the top of the curve of ρ is preserved, together with the lower end of a long descending stroke. ω seems a little narrow in comparison with other omegas, but the general shape of the remains nevertheless suggests that letter. Ν and Ι are secure.

17]*κ*α*c*. Most probably a noun, object of *ἐτέλεσε*, therefore a word in *-αξ* or *-ιξ* meaning ‘childbirth’ or something similar.

18 ἄδακρυ*c* ἐ[*π*]έγχο PJP. For *ἐπείγχο* (always in the same position in the metre), see AR 3.512 and 1059; Nonn. *D.* 11.13; 18.220; 38.262.

παντὶ . . . θυμ[ῶ]ι. See e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.96; *Nem.* 5.31; Aesch. *Ag.* 233; *Eum.* 738; the combination is not found in epic.

19 καθιδρύετα[ί] *τέ* *κελ*]ήνη*i*. For the middle cf. Eur. *IT* 1481 καθιδρύειν τὸ τ’ εὐτυχῶ*c* βρέτα*c*. See also DH *Ant. Rom.* 6.17.3 ναοὺ*c* τ’ αὐτοῖ*c* καθιδρύεσθαι καὶ θυρία*c* καταστήεσθαι. καθιδρύετα[ί] *τέ* *κελ*]ήνη*i* (WBH) seems to fit the gap; *τε* would be easily lost after *ται* and before *σε*. Cf. Tatian, *Ad Graecos* §10 πῶ*c* δὲ ὁ τεθνεὼ*c* Ἄντινόο*c* μειράκιον ὠραῖον ἐν τῇ *κελήνη* καθιδρύεται; with LXIII 4352 fr. 5 ii 11 n.

20 start, *παρθέ]ν*ο*c* ἔνθεν ἄνακτί πο[θ’] ἴκειο may be considered. This implies that the maiden is actually returning to the gods’ abode after an earthly existence. πο[θ’] ἴκειο (EM) would explain why the lady, who is heavily pregnant, can be called a maiden here: this refers to a past situation. However, the supplement imports a metrical anomaly, since it leaves the line without a proper caesura. See West, *Greek Metre* 153, who finds for ‘Caesura before enclitic’ only ‘Theoc. 14. 48, perhaps A.R. 3. 12’. Also, if Poppaea is the lady being addressed, it does not seem appropriate to suggest that she was a virgin when she married Nero.

21 *-οτ]*έρην*i*. Fate has made the young lady greater than mere marriage, e.g. *θειοτ]*έρην*i* or *σεμνοτ]*έρην*i* (PJP), or *λαμπροτ]*έρην*i* or *κυδροτ]*έρην*i* (EM).

γάμου [. Instead of depending on the comparative *-οτ]*έρην*i*, it could go with *Μοῖρ[α]* (EM). *γάμου[ε]*, although difficult to fit into the syntax, is not wholly excluded.

Νέρωνι. The young woman may be ordered to keep watch over her children on behalf of her husband, that is instead of a regular marriage, while he is still alive. This situation is slightly reminiscent of the story of Callisto and her son Arcas as told by Ovid (*Fast.* 2.187–8): *hanc puer ignarus iaculo fixisset acuto, / ni foret in superas raptus uterque domos*, ‘the unwitting child (Arcas) would have pierced (Callisto) with his sharp spear, had both not been taken up to heavenly dwellings’.

22 start, perhaps *εἰ*c* δῆ]* τοὺ*c* αἰῶ*να**c*. The speck of ink above *ο*, which presumably belongs to *τ*, seems to exclude *εἰ*c* μακ]*ροὺ*c* αἰῶ*να**c* (Hierocles ap. Stob. 4.24a.14 [4.605.12 W.–H.]; see also Aesch. *Suppl.* 582, Eur. *Med.* 428, etc.). The wording *εἰ*c* τοὺ*c* αἰῶ*να**c** is found frequently but almost exclusively in biblical texts. The use of the article would be somewhat surprising in a hexameter text.

23 ὡ*c* φα]μένη*i* *χερὸ*c* ἦγγ*e**. This is a relatively loose use of the genitive, for which see P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* ii §63; LSJ s.v. *χείρ* 11.3. *δραξα]*μένη*i* *χερὸ*c** could also be considered, but it would deprive us of a formulaic closure at the end of Aphrodite’s speech. On the other hand, the supplement printed may be rather on the short side.

23–4 *μηδὲ* *δοθέντι* | [*-* *Ϟ*] *ἰανθείαν*. At the beginning of 24 one expects a word such as ‘favour’, ‘honour’, ‘privilege’, in the dative. It could be a dactylic word ending in *-ω*, with correption before long *ι*. Perhaps *φαρμάκω*] (WBH), ‘not cheered/healed by the remedy offered’: see LSJ s.v. *ἰαίνω* 11 for the sense ‘heal’, with examples in QS, of which 4.402 is also a parallel for the correption. Long initial *ι* in *ἰαίνω* is to be found already in *Od.* 20.59, but mostly in later poets, e.g. QS 4.402 and 7.340.

24–5 *ἴκον* ἀκοίτη*n* | [*ἀθανάτ]ο*c** MLW. See Sapph. 31.1–2 V. φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴκος θεοῖ*c*ιν / ἔμμεν’ ὠνηρ; also 68a.3; 111.5; 44.21; Eur. *El.* 67 ἐγώ *ε*’ ἴκον θεοῖ*c*ιν ἠγοῦμαι φίλον.

26 *ετᾶ*c** δ]όμων MLW.

27 *εἰ*c*φύλαξα* seems inadmissible, as the verb *εἰ*c*φύλαττω* is attested only much later in ΣTrAristoph. *Eq.* 1173.

*πό*c**i. The vocative ‘husband’ rather than *πο*c**ί ‘with my feet’.

28 start, *ἔ]φ*υ*c* perhaps likeliest; alternatives include *περι]φύ*c** and *προ*c*]φύ*c** (all WBH).

34 *παιδὸ*c** rather than ἄπαιδο*c*, which would give a breach of Hermann’s Bridge.

37 μένονσα. The high dot between ε and ν seems out of place; perhaps a mere spot on the surface of the papyrus.

38] φάτο. There is no single formula for φάτο at this place in the verse, where the verb occurs frequently (although seldom with the end of a clause after φάτο; see however *Il.* 24.353; *Od.* 4.370).

θαιρούς. A Homeric hapax (*Il.* 12.459), attested elsewhere before the third century AD only in Soph. fr. 596 Radt (later in QS 3.27, 11.391, Paul. Sil. *Soph.* 442).

40 Perhaps the general sense was that Aphrodite's chariot was now airborne.

42 Αὔκωνα δῖο[ν EM. Auson is the eponymous ancestor of the Ausonii (Aurunci), considered by the Greeks as the first inhabitants of southern Italy; see Serv. *Aen.* 3.171, where Auson is the son of Ulysses and Calypso (8.328, of Circe).

Back

43]ων ἴτυς [. Perhaps ἄστρ]ων ἴτυς (EM). See Nonn. *D.* 2.700 ἐς αἰθερίων ἴτυν ἄστρων.

47 ἄλωε[. The function of the supralinear addition cannot be determined; perhaps a correction of some kind was intended.

49 κυμφερ. . [. κυμφερτ[ο]ύς RLC.

50ff. Aphrodite and the lady travel outwards from Earth, pass the sublunary celestial bodies (50–51: comets, shooting stars etc.) as well as the sun and moon (52–4), cross the path of the planets (54–6), and pass the fixed stars (57) before reaching heaven. The location of the comets can be explained by the Aristotelian view that they are exhalations from the earth exploding in the atmosphere; see Aristot. *Meteor.* 1.4 (341b1–342a33); D. R. Dicks, *Early Greek Astronomy* 209. The placing of the planets rests on the geocentric notion that they belong to a structure of imbricated spheres of varying orders. See Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* 106–7, who mentions among others the sequence found in Plato's *Timaeus*: Moon – Sun – Venus – Mercury – Mars – Jupiter – Saturn. The so-called Pythagorean order is Moon – Sun – Mercury – Venus – Mars – Jupiter – Saturn. This is the order followed here, assuming that Mars is correctly restored at the end of 55.

50 The marginal dot is unexplained.

δοκί[δες τε μιν]νθάδιός τε διάι[σων. See [Plut.] *Placita philosophorum* 893b, with a section bearing the title *Περὶ κομητῶν καὶ διαττόντων καὶ δοκίδων* where the author lists the opinions of several philosophers on such celestial bodies.

51 ἦιχι πίθοι τε . . . [. . .]. φρέαρ ἦιχί τε λα[μπάδες. Before φρέαρ, probably an adjective; βαθύ seems too short for the space left. At the end of the verse, perhaps λα[μπάδες εἰσί. On πίθοι, see [Aristot.] *mund.* 395b10–13 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι φαντασμάτων ἰδέαι θεωροῦνται, λαμπάδες τε καλούμεναι καὶ δοκίδες καὶ πίθοι καὶ βόθυνοι, κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα ὁμοιότητα ὧδε προσαγορευθεῖσαι, 'many other phenomena are to be observed, the so-called torches, comets, jars, and pits, which owe their names to their resemblance to these things'. The πίθοι are called *pithiae* by Seneca (*quaest. nat.* 1.14.1), who gives a brief description of their nature: *sunt pithiae, cum magnitudo vasti rotundique ignis dolio similis vel fertur vel uno loco flagrat*, 'jars are formed when a large and round mass of fire, in the shape of a jar, is either moving or burning at the same place'. φρέαρ is not used elsewhere of a celestial body. It can however be compared with the βόθυνοι ('pits') mentioned by Aristotle and Seneca (see above). Seneca also lists *chasmata* 'wide openings'. Meteors (λαμπάδες) are also mentioned by [Aristotle]: see above.

53 γ]λαυκώπιδος ἀντί ε[ελήνης MLW. On the usage of γλαυκώπις for the Moon, see ΣAp.Rh. 1.1281 καὶ Εὐριπίδης (fr. 1009 Kannicht) ἐπὶ τῆς εελήνης ἐχρήσατο γλαυκώπις τε στρέφεται μήνη. See also Emped. 31 B 42.2–3 DK ἀπεκνίφωσε δὲ γαίης / τόσσον ὅσον τ' εὖρος γλαυκώπιδος ἔπλετο μήνης. In the narrative of Arsinoe's *ektheosis* (Call. fr. 228.6 Pf.), the queen is snatched away and passes the moon: κλεπτομέν]α παρέθει εελάνα.

54 ἀστέρα K]υ[λ]ληναῖον RLC. The Cyllenaean star is Mercury, i.e., Hermes born on Mount Cyllene in the Peloponnese. See Arat. *Phaen.* 597 Λύρη . . . Κυλληναίη; Doroth. *Append.* III, fr. iii

a (Pingree p. 435) Ἑρμῆς· Στίλβων, Ἀργεΐφόντης, διάκτωρ, Κυλλήνιος, ὀξύς, πινυτός, ὠκύς, φαιδρός; and esp. Maneth. 4.206–7 στίλβων δ' Ἑρμῶνος ὅτ' ἂν Κυλληνίου ἀστήρ / φωσφόρον ἀκτίνεσσι βάλῃ Κυθηρηίδος αἴγλης 'when the shining star of Cyllenian Hermes hits with its rays the luminous (star) of Cytherean gleam'.

55 Ἐσπερον. In his list of the five planets known at his time, Eratosthenes (*Cat.* 2.43) says of Venus: ὁ δὲ τέταρτος (sc. ἀστήρ) Φωσφόρος, Ἀφροδίτης, λευκὸς τῷ χρώματι. πάντων δὲ μέγιστός ἐστι τούτων τῶν ἀστρων, ὃν καὶ Ἐσπερον καὶ Φωσφόρον καλοῦσιν 'The fourth is the Light-giver, Aphrodite's planet; its colour is white. It is the largest of all these celestial bodies, and it is called both the Evening star and the Light-giver.' See also Theo Sm. *De utilitate mathematicae* p. 131.1–3 Hiller φωσφόρος, ὃν φασιν Ἀφροδίτης, τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἑωσφόρον καὶ ἔσπερον ὀνομάζουσι.

ἀλλ' ὅτ' [Ἄρηα (WBH), giving the expected reference to Mars (see above on 50 ff.). For ἀλλ' ὅτ' at this point in the line, cf. Opp. *Hal.* 4.297, 5.483, *Cym.* 2.50.

57 Θέμις δ' ἤπλωσεν. [. The newcomer is taken in by the goddess Themis, presumably because the latter oversees matters relating to the order of the gods. Perhaps Θέμις δ' ἤπλωσεν ἐ[αυτήν 'she spread herself out'; see e.g. Joh. Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 202 (*PG* 87(3).3092B) καὶ ὡς ἤγγισεν, ἤπλωσεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ; Timotheus, *Excerpta ex libris de animalibus* 5 περὶ ἀλώπεκος· ὅτι πεινώσα ἀπλοῖ ἑαυτὴν ὡς νεκρὰν ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ.

58 ἀπέ[β]ησαν RLC. Presumably Aphrodite and the lady climb off the chariot after they have reached the gods' abode.

58–9 For ὄληι . . . [ἀρμο]νίηι cf. Pl. *Laws* 7.802e, Diod. Sic. 3.58.3. The supplements in this and the following sentence were proposed by WBH.

60 .] .η. α. μέγαν. Before μέγαν, one should assume a masculine noun.

β[λάστ]ησεν. The verb βλαστάνω/βλαστέω is attested in a causal sense, 'to produce, bring forth', in Nonn. *D.* 36.355–6 θεὸς . . . ἄμπελον ἐβλάστησεν; see also LSJ s.v. II; *DGE* s.v. II. An alternative β[ρόντ]ησεν does not seem to make sense in the context.

60–61 Reading proposed by RLC (ο]υρανίαις . . . π]αρηΐζειν PJP). Cf. 9; for the expression compare [Bion], *Ephth. Ach.* 19, Nonn. *D.* 43.58.

61–2 ἀμφὶ δὲ μίτρῃ[ν] | χεῖτο. The form χεῖτο is a *hapax*. For parallels to ἀμφὶ δὲ μίτρῃν at end of verse, see Nonn. *D.* 48.461, and esp. 35.210–11 ἀμφὶ δὲ μίτρῃν / ἀμφιλαφῆς κυκλοῦτο φυλάκτορι γαστέρος ὀλκῶ, 'around (the virgin's) girdle, (the snake) circled on all sides in a coil that protected her belly'. Originally used by Homer to describe a piece of military equipment designed to protect the belly, the *mitra* is also worn as a belt or headdress by women (Theoc. 27.55) and goddesses (Call. *Hymn.* 1.21). See R. Hirschmann, 'Mitra', *NP* 8 (2000) 292–3. In Call. *Hymn.* 4.222, Leto loosens her belt to give birth to Apollo and Artemis on the island of Delos: *Λητώ τοι μίτρῃν ἀναλύεται ἔνδοθι νήσου*. It is possible that, in our passage, the young woman is also giving birth to the child she is carrying. This child would then belong to the gods, since it would have died together with its mother.

63 Supplements proposed by WBH.

64 end, e.g. (WBH) νέρ[θε δ(ε)], followed by a verb with πατρός ἔδη (65) as subject, e.g. ἔχαιρε (for the personification, cf. e.g. Aesch. fr. 58 Radt).

65 end, perhaps ἔχαιρον (unless the verb is correctly restored at the end of the previous line). For ἔχαιρον preceded by a participle, see QS 7.226 ἐσπόμενοι μέγ' ἔχαιρον. The stars are leaping (with joy?) because of the new arrival.

66 Ἄρ[η]ς WBH.

67 χορὸν μακάρων. See Nonn. *D.* 21.252 οὐρανίων μακάρων χορόν.

καθαρῆς ὑπένερθε [σελήνης (WBH)? Cf. Arat. *Phaen.* 783, 802.

68 δόκευε δὲ μὴ τις ἀκοίτηι. See Nonn. *D.* 10.252–3 εἰς δύσει ὄμμα τίταινεν ἐς ἡέρα λοξὰ δοκεύων, / μὴ Ζεφύρου πνεύσειε πάλιν θανατηφόρος αὔρη. Perhaps she is watching in case one of the stars should strike her husband.

70 θεόν, or possibly ἀνθέον.

End, ἐνέκυ[ρσεν or ἐνέκυ]ρσαν (both WBH).

72 ἀνήλυθον, ἔϋθα δὲ RLC.

73 πέρασ ἄξονος RLC. This phrase is not attested elsewhere in epic poetry. ἄξων refers to the axis of the celestial sphere, of which the end (πέρασ) is the pole.

End, e.g. [ἀνασσα (WBH).

74 κύν[ε]υνον (WBH) here of the male, as at AP 5.120.1 (Philod. *epigr.* 26.1 Sider) and elsewhere: see further LSJ.

76 σελα[probably represents ἐλάσ in some case. Alternatives include some form of σελαγέω or σελαγίζω.

80 καλλιςτ. [. Perhaps a reference to Callisto, who was turned into the constellation of the Bear.

81 Cιδόνιος. For the spelling Cιδό- (instead of Cιδώ-), frequent in hexameter poetry, see e.g. *Il.* 6.289–90 γυναικῶν Cιδονίων; Call. fr. 384.50 Pf. Κυπρόθε Cιδονίος με κατήγαγεν ἐνθάδε γαῦλος.

82 Supplement by WBH. The switch to the future tense is noteworthy.

84]ξεις. Presumably second person singular future, to judge from the futures in the two preceding lines.

P. SCHUBERT

5106. EXHORTATION IN HEXAMETERS

50 4B.34/D(1–2)b

fr. 1 6 × 16.7 cm

Early third century
Plate I

One large and two small fragments. Left margin c.1.4 cm (fr. 1) and c.3 cm (fr. 2). Frr. 1 and 2 are both broken at the top and bottom; they could belong to the same column. The margin tends to drift towards the left, following Maas's law. No sheet-join is visible. In fr. 1.2–5, a defect of the papyrus produced an oblique ridge on which the scribe could not write, leaving a short space in the middle of some words. On the back, upside down in relation to the front, the papyrus has been recycled into a land register; note references to ἐπ(αρμένη). This is quite unusual though not unparalleled; cf. LXXI 4818.

The text is written along the fibres. It is written in a small and informal but regular hand, sloping slightly to the right. Epsilon sometimes takes a cursive shape, although it is often written in two half-loops. The hand can be placed in the early third century; see Seider, *Pal. Gr.* II 38 and 42; *GMAW*² 31 and 66. Although we are dealing with a practised scribe, he is apparently not a professional copyist. This could be either an amateur copy of an existing poem or an amateur poet's autograph draft. The absence of corrections (see e.g. VII 1015) rather suggests the former, but there could have been some corrections in the part now lost. The script on the back is a cursive of more generous size, comparable in many respects with P. Yale III 137 (216/17), except for the fact that here the script is upright whereas the Yale hand slopes to the right.

The scribe uses diaeresis inorganically, on initial iota (fr. 1.3, 24), and to indicate that *ηι* is not to be taken as a diphthong (28). A short horizontal stroke above line level (7 (?), 12, 21, 28) could be taken as punctuation, though there are also high dots (4, 7, 16, 26, 30) and a low stop (14). In 12, the scribe wrote *γεινώμεσθα* for *γινώμεσθα* (*γιγν-*).

The two main fragments preserve remains of the left part of hexameters; in the larger of the two, a little more than half of each verse is lost. It is nevertheless possible to recognize that the speaker addresses a group, sometimes using the first, sometimes the second person plural, as well as the first person singular. A form of dialogue is not excluded, but no clear pattern seems to emerge from the preserved fragment. The speaker claims to have a divine message to convey (15 *φράζω ταῦτα τὰ θεῖα*), and stresses the fact that he is not seeking a reward (16 *οὐχ ἵνα μισθὸν ἔχω*). This is not a prophecy in the sense of a message announcing future events, but a claim from a person who is the holder of a superior truth. He lays emphasis on the idea of shining whiteness (7 *λευκοὶ γεινώμεσθα*; 9 *φαινότατον*; 12 *λευκοὶ γεινώμεσθα*; 13 *τὰς ἀκοὰς λευκάς*; fr. 2.10 *λευκ*), and seems to fear that his addressees might not believe him (fr. 1.14 *εἰ μὴ πιστεύσητε*; 26 *καὶ καταπιστεύσητε*; cf. 21). Death and souls also appear to play a role in this passage (2 *ἀρ]γαλέου θανάτοι[ο*; 17 *ψυχαί*; 32 *ἀργαλέου θανάτο[υ*). Finally, the speaker apparently gives a message of hope in a life after death (29 *ἐλπ]ίδι βοσκώμεσθ[α*; 30 *ἢ ζ]ωὴ μετὰ γαίαν*). He underlines his speech with many repetitive patterns, which are reminiscent of hymnic composition: *ἀργαλέου θανάτοιο* (2, cf. 32); *εὐκλείην ἱερὴν μελετήσατε* (3, 24); *λευκοὶ γεινώμεσθα* (7, 12) and *τὰς ἀκοὰς λευκάς* (13); *μηδὲν κρυπτόν ἔχωμεν* (8) and *μηδὲν ὑποπτον ἔχωμεν* (11); *πολλάκι τοῦτο λέγω* (21) and *πολλάκι ταῦτὰ λέγω* (25); *μὴ φιλότητι* (27) and *μὴ ζήλω* (28).

This text seems to have no direct parallel either in literary or in magical papyri. Although some elements point to a kind of ritual performance relating to the destiny of the soul after death, it is also possible that this is an early fragment of a Christian homily in hexameters, where the pagan elements have been recycled with a new meaning. To start with the first hypothesis, repeated clauses underline the performative character of the text. A form of cleansing is expected under the metaphor of whitening. From a formal point of view, the closest parallel is to be found in Empedocles. In his hexametric *Περὶ φύσεως* (31 B 17 Diels–Kranz, revised with supplements by O. Primavesi, *Empedokles Physika* i (2008)), the extant text starts with *δίπλ' ἐρέω* (1 DK = 232 P, repeated in 16 DK = 247 P), indicating direct speech. There is a single addressee (14 DK = 245 P, *ἀλλ' ἄγε μύθων κλύθι· μάθη γάρ τοι φρένας αὔξει*). The speaker also insists on the trustworthiness of his message (26 DK = 257 P, *ὦ δ' ἄκουε λόγου στόλον οὐκ ἀπατηλόν*). In another poem, the *Καθαρμοί*, Empedocles addresses his fellow citizens of Acragas (B 112.1–2 DK, *ὦ φίλοι, οἷ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος / ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεος*). In spite of a resemblance with Empedocles, there is no exact parallel to any extant fragment.

The use of the verb *καταπιστεύω* (26) finds no secure parallel before Polybius (2.3.3, 3.70.7, 3.80.3, 5.34.3), and its use is otherwise restricted to prose. Formally speaking, we could thus be dealing with a distant imitator of Empedocles.

The insistence on whiteness however brings us to Pythagorean doctrine. This philosopher was said to have dressed in white, see Ael. *Var. Hist.* 12.32 *Πυθαγόρας ὁ Κάμιος λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα ἤσθητο καὶ ἐφόρει στέφανον χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀναξυρίδας*. He also allegedly taught that men should perform sacrifices with white and clean garments (Diod. Sic. 10.9.6 *λαμπρὰς καὶ καθαρὰς ἔχοντας ἐσθῆτας*). This teaching is mentioned by Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrHist* 273 F 93 = Diog. Laert. 8.33 *θεοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ μετ' εὐφημίας λευχειμονοῦντας καὶ ἀγνεύοντας*), and in Iamblichus' *Vita Pythagorica* 153; see C. Riedweg, *Pythagoras* (2002) 53 (= Eng. tr. 35). A link between whiteness and the eschatological echoes found in our fragments is provided in Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 155 *τοὺς δὲ τελευτήσαντας ἐν λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσι προπέμπειν ὄσιον ἐνόμιζε*. Our verses could therefore reflect some Pythagorean teaching, in a tradition close to the so-called *Golden Verses*; see Riedweg, *Pythagoras* 161 (= Eng. tr. 123) and J. C. Thom, *The Pythagorean Golden Verses* (1995) 32: 'The poem is not cited by this title [i.e. *χρυσὰ ἔπη*] before the time of Alciphron and Iamblichus [ii/iii], but verses from the poem are already quoted from the time of Chrysippus [iii BC] onwards.' This new text differs however from the *Golden Verses* in at least two respects: the *GV* consistently address a second person singular; and they contain some sort of paraenetic teaching, whereas the fragment published here looks more like a sort of preamble to the teaching proper.

Moving to the second hypothesis, namely that this is a poem of Christian content, one could argue that the speaker is a preacher encouraging his listeners to embrace the Christian faith. In that case, the distinctly pagan Olympus (4), Phaethon (5), and Ares (28) should be understood as metaphors for 'heaven', 'sun' and 'strife'. An expression such as *ἀργαλέου θανάτοιο* goes back to Minnervus, but finds parallels in Gregory of Nazianzus, who also uses Phaethon for the sun, as well as *θοῦρος Ἄρης* for war. Repeated mention of whiteness could be somehow related to white garments worn by martyrs (see *Αποκ.* 7.14 *ἐπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου*); or it could refer to the purification of sins, see e.g. Euseb. *Comm. Psalm.* (PG 23.440C) *καὶ διὰ μὲν ἀπαθείας καθαριζόμεθα, διὰ δὲ τῆς γνώσεως λευκαινόμεθα*; Didym. Caes. *Comm. in Zach.* 4.312 *τῆς νοητῆς λευκότητος, ἣν μόνος καὶ πᾶς ἔχειν δύναται ὁ λευκαινόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*. See also LXX *Ps.* 50.9 *πλυνεῖς με, καὶ ὑπὲρ χιόνα λευκανθήσομαι*. The use of *καταπιστεύετε* (26) is reminiscent of LXX *Mi.* 7.5 *μὴ καταπιστεύετε ἐν φίλοις*. Again, the expression *εἰ μὴ πιστεύετε* (14) could echo one of several passages in John's Gospel, e.g., 8.45 *ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγω, οὐ πιστεύετε μοι*. According to this line of interpretation, at the end of the fragment, the speaker would reject carnal love (27 *μὴ φιλότητι δεθῶμεν*) as well as jealousy and strife (28 *μὴ ζήλω καὶ Ἄρηϊ*), warning his listeners against false hopes (29 *ἐλπ]ίδι βοσκώμεσθ[α]*). The true

life would follow earthly existence (30 ἢ ζ]ωῆ μετὰ γαίαν), in spite of the death of the flesh (31 θν]ήσκομεν ἐν σάρκεσσι).

A Christian interpretation looks attractive, although it should be stressed that there is not a single element in the text that can be unmistakably identified as Christian. Moreover, if a dating of the script in the early third century is correct, this would be a very early case of Christian poetry in hexameters. Looking at early Christian poetry, one could mention a hymn attributed to Clement of Alexandria (preserved at the end of chap. III of his *Paedagogus*), or another hymn by Methodius of Olympus, both in the third century. There is also an anapaestic Christian hymn with musical notation (XV **1786**; late iii). But none of those is in hexameters. We could therefore be dealing with an early precursor of a form of poetry best represented one century later by Gregory of Nazianzus.

Feminine caesura occurs in 66% of cases (21 feminine versus 11 masculine caesurae), a figure comparable to Apollonius Rhodius' 67% and Dionysius Periegetes' 65%, and relatively low compared to Callimachus' 74% and Nonnus' 82%; see M. L. West, *Greek Metre* 177. Contraction of the second biceps is at 35% (11 versus 20), a rather low figure by all accounts. Meyer's First Law is broken twice (11 and 27), his Second Law is broken in 21 and 25, and 16 offends against both (but against the First only if οὐχ ἵνα μισθὸν is taken as a single metrical unit). Giseke's and Hilberg's Laws are respected. The poet's level of metrical competence seems on the whole quite acceptable.

In the commentary, suggestions made by Dr Martin L. West are marked with MLW, those made by Professor Peter J. Parsons with PJP, those made by Dr Ruey-Lin Chang with RLC, those made by Dr Enrico Magnelli with EM, those made by Dr W. Benjamin Henry with WBH.

fr. 1

	.....]α[	.....]α[
	..]γαλεουθα νατοι[	ἀρ]γαλέου θανάτοι[ο
	...].[]ηνῖ ερηνμελετ.[	εὐκ]λ[ε]ίην ἱερὴν μελετή[σατε
	...].χθων· καιολυμπ.[	ἴστ]ω χθών και Ὀλυμπο[ς
5	..]τινι υξφαεθωντ.[	5 εἴ] τινι νύξ Φαέθων τε [
	..ε.ιονπ.εωμ.[	εὐέτιον ποθέωμε[ν
	λευκοιγεινωμες.α. ...[	λευκοὶ γεινώμεσθα ...[
	μηδενκρυπτον.χωμ[	μηδὲν κρυπτόν ἔχωμ[εν
	εστιφαιειν.τατοντοκαλ[	ἔστι φαινότατον τὸ καλ[όν
10	λαμπομενοφαιεσσιν[	10 λαμπόμενον φαέεσσιν[
	μηδενυποπτονεχω.[	μηδὲν ὑποπτον ἔχωμ[εν
	λευκοιγεινωμεςθα κ[	λευκοὶ γεινώμεσθα κ[
	τασακοαελευκασανε.[	τὰς ἀκοὰς λευκὰς ἀνε.[
	ειμηπιστευσητε.τατω.[	εἰ μὴ πιστεύσητε· τὰ τω.[
15	φραζωταυταταθεια μετ[	15 φράζω ταῦτα τὰ θεῖα μετ[
	ουχιναιμισθονεχω.δ.[	οὐχ ἴνα μισθὸν ἔχω· δ.[
	ψυχαιτουςμυθουστη.[	ψυχαὶ τοὺς μύθους τη.[
	μηγαρανιπταςθωτ.[	μὴ γὰρ ἀνιπτάσθω τι[ς
	α.λαμενω.φορ.[.].[	ἀλλὰ μένων φορ.[.].[
20	..ιων.ι. ...εθεθε[	20 ποῖ συνεπι. ...εθεθε[
	πολλακιτουτολεγω πικτ.[	πολλάκι τοῦτο λέγω· πικτε[ύ-
	ηδεγαληναι[...].διωκ.[	ἡδὲ γαληναί[ησι] διώκε[τε
	τηνκενεαυχ[...].ναπελ[	τὴν κενεαυχ[εῖη]ν ἀπελ[
	ευκλειηνιερ[...].λετης[	εὐκλείην ἱερ[ὴν με]λετή[σατε
25	πολλακιταυτα. ....ου.[	25 πολλάκι ταῦτὰ λέγω. ...ου.[
	καικαταπιστευσητε.παλιλλ[	καὶ καταπιστεύσητε· παλιλλ[ογ-
	μηφιλοτητιδεθωμενα.[	μὴ φιλότητι δεθώμενα.[
	μηζηλωκαιαρηι τ. ....[	μὴ ζήλω και Ἄρηι· τ.[
	...].ιδιβοσκωμεςθ[	ἐλπ]ίδι βοσκώμεσθ[α
30	..]ωημεταγαϊαν. ...[	30 ἢ ζ]ωὴ μετὰ γαῖαν. ...[
	..].σκομενενσαρκεσσι[	θν]ήσκομεν ἐν σάρκεσσι[
	λειπομεναργαλεουθανατο[	λείπομεν ἀργαλέου θανάτο[υ
	..]υ.ωσωςκολασινδοξαζετε[	..]υτως ὡς κόλασιν δοξάζετε[
	..].ωσωςθανατοι[...].[.].ε.[	..]τως ὡς θανάτοι[ο ...].[.].ε.[
35	..]να. ....υπερι.[	35 ..]να. ....υπερι.[
	..].[..].[

1 λ, half-loop, open at top 2 λ, lower left corner 3] [], remnants of ascending and descending obliques, followed by a break and the lower part of a descender short space between ī and ε 4] [], upright 4] [], trace suggesting the edge of the lower right-hand arc of a circle 5] [], only upper part 6] [], remains of a small loop 5] [], two uprights, the second touched by a descending oblique at the foot 7] [], high horizontal followed by trace suggesting upper left-hand arc of circle 6] [], a middle and a high horizontal, followed by a V-shaped letter (due to severe warping of the papyrus, the initial traces, shown correctly aligned in an old photograph, are now displaced) π] [], arc at upper left of edge; curved letter top 7] [], left oblique of λ displaced but still visible c] [], the lower part of the left-hand arc, base, and cap of c or θ 8] [], upright sloping to the right, then lower part of loop with horizontal across, perhaps θ, then lower part of upright sloping to the right, perhaps ιϑ! 8] [], high trace above hole 9] [], traces of the base, cap, and cross-bar n] [], the left- and right-hand sides of a small loop 10] [], traces suggesting the upper left corner and upper part of the second upright of ε, only lower left part preserved 11] [], the lower end of a stroke ascending from left to right 12] [], short horizontal above line level 13] [], forward-slanting upright attached to the preceding ε, with the beginning of a stroke going off to the right at the top 14] [], the foot of an upright or oblique 15] [], upright 16] [], high stop close to Δ 17] [], trace on edge 17] [], top of a descending oblique with left-pointing serif, perhaps λ 18] [], low speck on edge 19] [], small trace of descending oblique ω] [], upright on edge 20] [], a short curved stroke at letter-top level and a short upright low in the line; low speck 20] [], upright on edge of gap, then high speck; c seems to be missing lower part of curve; after cΥN, left part of a curved letter, ε θ o c; then high trace, followed by top of long vertical; then a high horizontal (perhaps a small letter lost in gap), followed by an oblique, perhaps γ or η; a stroke sloping down to the right, attached to a thin vertical, perhaps η; remains of a small hook that could belong to ε 21] [], top left part of a curved letter 22] [], bottom part of upright attached to preceding λ κ] [], ascending oblique attached to preceding κ 23] [], lower part of upright attached to preceding κ x] [], long lower left oblique, shorter upper left oblique η] [], upper edge of the oblique and top of the second upright λ] [], ascending oblique attached to preceding ε, with upper part of descending oblique barely visible 24] [], very cursive ε between λ and ι 25] [], only lower left part of loop; then lower part of upright or oblique; traces on a single fibre, the last but one being the base of a loop; after the gap, a heavy trace at letter-top level; the upper part of an upright; ογ as in 32; the foot of an oblique or upright 28] [], only bottom right part of μ 29] [], only the upper parts preserved 29] [], lower left part of loop 30] [], ω has thick dot at end of upper right end; dot below second upright of η 31] [], lower parts only, the last a loop 31] [], mid-level cross-bar joined to a tight loop at right 32] [], tail touching ε in space suiting λ (cf. 7, 12) π] [], the right-hand side and traces of the top and left-hand side θ] [], right part of a curved letter 33] [], ω, upright attached to preceding γ; left part of ω damaged Δ] [], adjoining obliques and the lower left-hand corner 34] [], high horizontal attached to following ω end of line, mere traces 35] [], perhaps]ϑ! 36] [], high traces; after gap γ] [], high horizontal attached to following γ 36] [], high traces

‘ . . . painful death . . . practise holy glory . . . let earth and Olympus know . . . ⁵ if anyone . . . Night and Phaethon (sun?) . . . let us desire prosperous . . . let us become white . . . let us have nothing hidden . . . What is fair is most brilliant . . . ¹⁰ shining with lights (stars) . . . let us have no object of suspicion . . . let us become white . . . rouse ears that are white . . . if you do not trust: the . . . ¹⁵ I utter these divine (words?) . . . not in order that I may have a reward . . . souls . . . talk . . . for let no one try to fly up . . . but remaining . . . ²⁰ where (are you going?) . . . god . . . often do I say this: trust . . . and pursue . . . by peaceful . . . refute (?) vainglory . . . practise holy glory . . . ²⁵ often do I say the same . . . and trust . . . recapitulation (?) . . . let us not be bound by love . . . not by jealousy and strife . . . let

us feed on hope . . . ³⁰ life after earth . . . we die in our flesh . . . we leave . . . of painful death . . . thus consider as a punishment . . . as . . . of death . . .'

2 ἀρ]γαλέου θανάτοι[ο. Cf. 32. See Mimnerm. fr. 4.2 W. (= 1 GP) θανάτου ρίγιον ἀργαλέου; later examples: QS 7.282 χηρωθῆ δὲ μέλαθρον ὑπ' ἀργαλέου θανάτοιο; Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1.2.2.54 (PG 37.582) στήλη καὶ κακίης, καὶ ἀργαλέου θανάτοιο; 1.2.9.70 (PG 37.672) μεσσηγὺ ζωῆς τε καὶ ἀργαλέου θανάτοιο.

3 εὐκ]λ[ε]ίην ἱερῆν μελετή[σατε. These words are restored on the basis of 24. Similar exhortations are found in the Church Fathers, e.g. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 42.25 (PG 36.489A) ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν τοὺς προπεμπτηρίους ἡμῖν μελετήσατε λόγους; Basil. Seleue. *Or.* 28.3 (PG 85.321D) ὦ μαθηταί, τὰς Νικοδήμου φωνὰς μελετήσατε. Also in a pagan context, Strat. *AP* 12.187.5 μελέτα μόνον.

4 ἴστ]ω WBH, comparing *Il.* 15.36 = *Od.* 5.184 ἴστω νῦν τόδε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθεν. Then e.g. χθῶν καὶ Ὀλυμπο[ς ἰδ' ἠχέεσσα θάλασσα (PJP); or 'fire' and 'water' as the other two elements.

5 εἴ] τινι suggested by WBH. Perhaps the general sense of this and the preceding line was 'let the world know if Night or the Sun sees anyone behaving wickedly', e.g. εἴ] τινι Νυξ Φάεθων τῆ [ἴδον κακὰ ἔργα ἀδόντα (WBH), i.e. 'if anyone behaves wickedly by night or by day'.

6 εὐέτιον ποθέωμε[ν. The adjective is not attested elsewhere, but the substantive εὐετία is found in *AP* 14.121.4, with the meaning of 'good season', 'prosperity': Ταύρη χθῶν βοέης οὖνομ' ἀπ' εὐετίας. The uncontracted form ποθέωμεν is also not found in the TLG; see however Jo. Chrys. *In Genesim* (PG 54.422) ταῦτ' οὖν εἰδότες, ἐκεῖνα ποθῶμεν τὰ μένοντα καὶ ἀκίνητα ἀγαθά.

7 . . . [ἴθι may be considered, but it would require one to take the cross-bar following the high stop as punctuation, a function already performed by the high stop itself; and the second person singular verb is unwelcome between two verbs in the first person plural.

8 ἔχωμ[εν. In theory one could also restore ἔχω μ[, but the context favours the plural. The same applies to ἔχωμ[εν in 11.

9 ἔστι φαινότατον τὸ καλ[όν MLW. See Theogn. 255 κάλλιστον τὸ δικαιοτάτον.

10 λαμπόμενον φαέεσσι. For the use of φάος in the plural with the meaning of 'a beam of light', see e.g. 'Hes.' fr. 252.4 M-W Θηρώ τ' εὐειδῆ, ἱκέλην φαέεσσι κελήνης. See also [Orph.] *H.* 66.2 λαμπόμενε φλογέαισ ἀγαῖς, φαεσίμβροτε δαίμον; Greg. Naz. *AP* 8.5.3-4 ὄμμα φαινὸν . . . κάλλεσι λαμπόμενον.

11 ἔχωμ[εν. See 8 n.

13 τὰς ἀκοὰς λευκὰς ἀνεχ[: ἀνεχ[εῖρ- (RLC); cf. Philo *De decalogo* 148 τὰ ὧτα ἀνεγερθέντα καὶ ἐπουρίσαντα ἴεται. WBH proposes ἀνεχ[εῖρετε (ἀνεχ[εῖρωμεν would breach Meyer's Third Law). The audience is perhaps being asked to pay close attention and take the speaker's words to heart. In Martial 13.2.9, *candidus aure* is used of someone who is expected to lend a benevolent ear to the poet.

End, WBH proposes e.g. δεινὰ γὰρ ἔσται (cf. *Il.* 18.266 ὦδε γὰρ ἔσται) as apodosis to the conditional clause at the beginning of the next line.

14 End, WBH proposes e.g. τὰ τῶν [προτέρων ἔπε' ἀνδρῶν, to be taken with what follows.

15 μετ[. Perhaps μετ[ἀγγελος (RLC).

20 ποῖ συνεπι. . . εἰθε θε[. There must be a verb indicating movement: 'where will you go?' This could be followed e.g. by θε[ῶν ἀλιτόντες ἐφετμάς, 'if you transgress the gods' orders', see *Il.* 24.570 Διὸς δ' ἀλιτῶμαι ἐφετμάς; or perhaps θεῶν αἰόντες ἐφετμῆς 'when you hear the gods' order', see Coll. 100 μητρῶς ἐρατῆς αἰόντες ἐφετμῆς.

21 πολλάκι τοῦτο λέγω· πιςτε[ύσατε (WBH, noting the aorists at 14 and 26) or πιςτε[ύετε. Expressions of this kind are frequently used in exhortations; see e.g. Dem. *Exord.* 48.1 ἴσως ὀχληρὸς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τίςιν ὑμῶν εἶναι δοκῶ, πολλάκις λέγων περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰεῖ; Arr. *Epict.* 2.1.29 διὰ τοῦτο λέγω πολλάκις· ταῦτα μελετᾶτε καὶ ταῦτα πρόχειρα ἔχετε'; Cyrill. Hier. *Catecheses ad il-*

luminandos 11.19 πολλάκις γὰρ λέγω τὸ αὐτὸ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐντυπώθῃ ὑμῶν τοῦτο τῇ διανοίᾳ. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὁ Θεὸς Υἱὸν ἔχει, τοῦτο πίστευε.

22 ἦδὲ γαληναί[ησι] διώκε[τε]. The object of διώκετε is lost; ‘pursue (happiness) by peaceful (means)’?

23 τὴν κενεαυχ[εῖη]ν. The substantive κενεαυχεῖη is not found elsewhere; a form of the adjective κενεαυχής would be a more secure alternative; see e.g. Nonn. *D.* 1.426 κενεαυχέα ῥήξατο φωνήν. A substantive κενεαύχημα finds a late attestation in Eust. *De capita Thessalonica* p. 32 Kyriakidis ἐν οἰκείοις κενεαυχήμασιν.

End, ἀπελ[έγγετε] (WBH), ‘refute,’ would give suitable sense. ἀπελ[αύνετε] may also be considered. The participle ἀπελ[αυνόμενοι] would give a breach of Meyer’s Third Law and be out of place in the chain of vcrbs in the 2nd pl.

26 καὶ καταπιστεύετε. Perhaps paired with another subjunctive in the protasis of a condition, with the apodosis placed first in the sentence (following πολλάκι ταῦτὰ λέγω in 25): cf. 14.

παλιλλ[ογ-]. End, c.g. (WBH) παλιλλ[ογίη] δὲ πίθεσθε (as a new sentence) or πίθησθε (continuing the protasis of the assumed condition), ‘heed my repeated words.’ παλιλλογία is otherwise a prose word, but παλίλλογα is found at *Il.* 1.126. For the form of the second half of the verse, cf. e.g. παραίφασίησι πίθεσθε (*AR* 2.324, 3.554).

27 μὴ φιλότητι δεθῶμεν α. [See Basil. Seleuc. *Or.* 36.2 (*PG* 85.385c) δεθῶσι νοσήματι. EM suggests ἀν[αιδέϊ, or perhaps ἀν[αιδέα παιδευούση. See Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1.2.29.183 (*PG* 37.897) ἀρχὴ γὰρ φιλότητος ἀναιδέος ὄψις ἀναιδέης.

28 μὴ ζήλω καὶ Ἄρηϊ. The pairing of ζήλος and Ἄρης supports a metaphorical understanding of the latter (i.e. ‘strife’). See *Ep. Rom.* 13.13 μὴ ἔριδι καὶ ζήλω.

29 ἐλπ[ίδι] βοσκώμεσθ[α]. In a Christian context, one could understand ‘let us feed on the hope (of salvation)’. This is however almost a proverbial expression already among pagan writers: see *Soph. Ant.* 1246 ἐλπίζειν δὲ βόσκομαι; fr. 948 Radt ἐλπὶς γὰρ ἡ βόσκουσα τοὺς πολλοὺς βροτῶν; *Eur. Bacch.* 617; *Phoen.* 396; *Men. Sent.* 51 αἱ δ’ ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι τοὺς κενοὺς βροτῶν. Nonnus has ἐλπίδα βόσκων at *D.* 3.359, 34.102, 35.248.

30 ἢ ζ]ωὴ μετὰ γαῖαν. Tight space allows only a spondee at the beginning of the line, hence ἢ ζ]ωή. The formula μετὰ γαῖαν is found frequently in Nonnus, always at the same metrical position as in our verse. It is regularly applied to a change from the life on Earth to a life in Heaven, both in a pagan and in a Christian context: see *D.* 1.446; 9.150; 21.296; 25.139; 31.238; *par. Jo.* 14.75; 16.27; 17.44.

31–2 E.g. (WBH) θν]ήσκομεν ἐν κάρκεσσι[ν, ἀτὰρ ψυχὴν . . . | λείπομεν ἀργαλέου θανάτο[ν ποτὶ τέρμα μολόντες. Perhaps an allusion to *Ep. Rom.* 8.13 εἰ γὰρ κατὰ κάρκα ζῆτε μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰ πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε ζήσεσθε; or ‘our flesh dies (but our soul is immortal)’.

33 and 34 ο]ὔτῳσ and οὔ]τῳσ or α]ὔτῳσ and αὔ]τῳσ. The general idea of verses 30–35 seems to be: ‘You should strive for a life after your earthly existence; for we die in our flesh and cannot escape the consequences of painful death; you should therefore consider your earthly existence as a form of punishment and not be afraid of death.’

fr. 2

. . . .
 . [. . .] . [.
 κ [. .] . . [.
 ε ψ [. . .] .
 χ ρ . [. . .] .
 5 φ ρ ο [. . .] .
 λ υ ς ι [. . .] .
 ο υ κ . [. . .] .
 ο υ [. . .] .
 ε ι μ ι . [. . .] .
 10 λ ε υ κ [. . .] .
 η λ θ ο . [. . .] .
 ξ ε ι ν [. . .] .

fr. 3

. . . .
] , ν α . . . [. . .] .

fr. 2

1 . [. . .] . [. , ascending oblique; the base of a circle on the line with traces above to left and right
 2 upright, with oblique ascending from mid-level; then traces of ink
 4 . [. , trace at mid-level suggesting the lower left-hand arc of a circle
 7 . [. , flat trace above the line
 9 . [. , horizontal at line level, with an ascending oblique attached to its left end, perhaps Δ or Z
 11 . [. , speck at line level

10 Perhaps λευκ[οὶ γεινώμεσθα as at fr. 1.7, 12 (WBH).

fr. 3

] . , the base of a small circle . . . [. , an upright; the lower part of an upright or oblique with a further trace to the right; perhaps the first stroke and belly of μ

P. SCHUBERT

III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

5107. CONTRACT FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF A SUBSTITUTE IN A LITURGY

17 2B.56/F(e)

11.8 × 28.8 cm

27 Dec. 155 – 25 Jan. 156
Plate X

Written in a rapid, skilled hand, this document is complete except for an indeterminate loss at the foot. There is a *kollesis* at 1.7 cm from the left edge.

We are presented with another example of a liturgist hiring someone to serve in his place; earlier examples are listed in Naphtali Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (Pap. Flor. XXVIII: ²1997), Table 6 p. 124; see also LXVII 4597 introd. Of these examples P. Lond. II 255 = W. Chr. 272 (136), P. Lond. II 306 = W. Chr. 263 (145), SB IV 7375 (222–35) and P. Leit. 13 = SB VIII 10205 (mid III) relate to the function of *praktor*, as does the present text; cf. also the receipts P. Fay. 35 = W. Chr. 264 (150/51) and L 3572 (III). The closest parallel is P. Leit. 13, also from Oxyrhynchus.

In our text Menas hires Theon for a fixed period of one year, from the current month of Tybi until Choiak of the next year, to carry out the ἀπαίτησις of taxes and also to do the paperwork of the job (γραμματεία, 10–11). The terms of the contract are carefully detailed. The employee Theon is to collect and hand in the monthly assessments, issue receipts to the taxpayers, and notify the *komogrammateus* of ἀποροι and δύνπρακτοι. The total salary of 520 drachmas is to be paid in four instalments of 40, 100, 180 and 200 drachmas. Theon is to absorb the following overhead expenses: papyrus rolls and writing implements for the books of the liturgy, and registering the books with the nome *eklogistes* and ‘appropriate others’. The document also confirms the leading role of the *basilikos grammateus* of the nome in the preparation of the collection of taxes, since he estimated the tax revenue that was to be collected (11–14) by the *praktoreis* on the basis of the income of the previous year. See 11–14 n. Of particular interest is the requirement that Theon send the *komogrammateus* the names τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ δυνπρακτων; see below, 23–4 n.

The work of the present editors was facilitated by a transcription of the text produced by Ursula Schlag.

ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοισι Μηνᾶ[ε] Εὐδαίμονος
μητρὸς Ἀπίας ἀπ’ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως
καταχραινόμενος ἐν κώμῃ Ψώβθῃ τῆς
πρὸς ἀπηλιώτου τοπ(αρχίας) πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν
5 κωμητικῶν λημμάτων τῆς προκειμέ-
νης Ψώβθεως τόπ(ων) καὶ Θεῶν Ὠρείωνος

τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου μητρὸς Ταναχώτιδος
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως, ὁ μὲν
 Μηνᾶς συνηλαχέναι τῷ Θεῶνι τῆς
 10 προκειμένης πρακτορείας τὴν γραμμα-
 τείαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαίτη[ς]ι π[ά]ντων τῶν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ βασι[λικ]οῦ γραμματέως ἐκ-
 τεθησομένων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πρακτορείας
 ἀργυρ[ικ]ῶν κωμητικῶν γνησίων λημμάτων
 15 ἀπὸ ἀριθμήσεως τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς
 Τυβι ἕως ἀριθμήσεως μηνὸς Χοιακ τοῦ
 εἰσιόντος κ (ἔτους), ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν αὐτ[ὸ]ν Θεῶνα
 τὴν ἀπαίτησιν καὶ τ[ὸν] συ[γ]κλεισμόν τῶν
 κωμητ[ικ]ῶν γνησ[ί]ων λημ[μ]άτων π[ο]ιήσα-
 20 σθαι ὑπακούοντα . . . κατὰ μῆνα . [c.4] τήρει
 καὶ ἐπ[ιδι]δόντα τῷ τ[οῦ] νομοῦ στ[ρ]α(τηγῶ) τὴν ἐκά-
 στου μηνὸς διαστολήν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ σύμβολα
 τοῖς διαγράφοσι ἐκδεδόσθαι, τῶν ἀπόρων
 καὶ δυ[ς]πράκτων ἐπιστελλομένων ὑπὸ
 25 τοῦ Θεῶνος τῷ τῶ[ν] τ[ό]π(ων) κωμογραμμα-
 τεί, ὁψωνίου τοῦ συ[μ]φωνηθέντο[ς] πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους σὺν τειμῇ χαρτῶν καὶ γράπτρων
 τῶν τῆς πρακτορείας βιβλίων καὶ κα-
 ταχ[ω]ρισμοῦ τούτων τῷ ἑτέρῳ τοῦ νομοῦ
 30 ἐγλογιστῆ καὶ οἷς ἄλλοις προσήκει ἀργυ-
 ρίου δραχμῶν πεντακοσίων εἴκοσι, ἀφ' ὧν
 αὐτόθι ἔσχευ ὁ Θεῶν δραχμὰς τεσσα-
 ράκον(τα), τὰς δὲ λοιπ[ὰς] δραχμὰς τετρα-
 κοσίας [ὁ] γδοήκο[ν]τα παρα[λήμψ]εται ὁ αὐ-
 35 τὸς Θεῶν παρὰ τοῦ α[ὐ]τοῦ Μηνᾶ τα[ί]ς
 προθεσμίας Φαρμουθι ιϛ δραχμὰς
 ἑκατόν, Ἐπειφ δραχμὰς ἑκατόν ὀγδοήκοντα
 καὶ ἑξενίαυτα Φαωφι τὰς λοιπὰς δραχμὰς
 διακοσίας, ὁ δ[ε] Θεῶν εὐδοκεῖν ἐπὶ τού-
 40 το[ις] καὶ ἕκαστα ποιήσειν ὡς ἐπάνω δε-
 δήλωται, [ο]ὐκ ἐξ[ό]ντος οὐδενὶ τῶν ὁμο[ο]λό[ο]υ
 των παραβαίνειν τὰ π[ρο]κειμέν[α]. κύρι[ο]ν
 τ[ὸ] . . . [c.4] . (ἔτους) ιθ [Αὐτοκράτ]ορ[ο]ς
 Ἀντω[νίνου] . . . [

45 π. [
παρ. [
καὶ μερῶν [
scant traces of the beginnings of two lines

3 l. καταγινόμενος 4, 6, 25 τοῦ 6 l. Ὁρίωνος 9 l. συνηλλαχέναι 17 §
22 στου: ο corr. from η 27 l. τιμῆ 29 τω: ω corr. from ε? 30 l. ἐκλογιστῆ 43 L

‘It is hereby mutually agreed between Menas son of Eudacmon, his mother being Apia, from the city of Oxyrhynchi, residing in the village of Psobthis in the eastern toparchy, *praktor* of money revenues from villagers in the aforesaid district of Psobthis, and Theon son of Horion grandson of Ammonius, his mother being Tanachotis, of the said city of Oxyrhynchi:

‘that Menas has contracted to Theon the clerkship of the aforesaid *praktoreia* and the collection of all the lawful village-derived money revenues to be posted by the royal scribe of the nome in the said *praktoreia*, from the assessment of the current month Tybi until the assessment of the month of Choiak of the incoming Year 20, on the following terms: the said Theon will carry out the collection and compile the final account of the legitimate revenues from villagers, submitting to . . . each month and handing over to the strategus of the nome the reckoning for each month, and will in addition issue receipts to the taxpayers, and (the names of) those without resources and those from whom it is difficult to collect will be sent by Theon to the *komogrammateus* of the district;

‘that the mutually agreed stipend, including cost of papyrus rolls and writing implements for the books of the *praktoreia* and of registering them with the *eklogistes* of the nome and others concerned, is five hundred and twenty drachmas, of which Theon has had forty drachmas on the spot, and the said Theon will receive the remaining four hundred and eighty drachmas from the said Menas on the following due dates: Pharmouthi 16, one hundred drachmas; Epeiph, one hundred and eighty drachmas; and Phaophi in the following year, the final two hundred drachmas;

‘and that Theon is satisfied with these terms and will do everything as detailed above, and neither of the contracting parties has the right to violate the aforesaid provisions. This . . . is normative. Year 19 of Imperator (Caesar?) Antoninus . . .’

4-5 With this addition to previously acquired data (cf. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*² s.v. *πράκτωρ* 4) it now appears that the organization of tax collection by *praktores* had the following structure:

μητροπολιτικῶν λημμάτων	
πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν	πράκτωρ σιτικῶν
κωμητικῶν λημμάτων	
πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν	πράκτωρ σιτικῶν

7 *Ταναχώτιδος*. This spelling (instead of the common *Τανεχ-*) seems to occur here for the first time.

10-11 *γραμματεῖαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαίτη[ε]ν*. In the light of the present text, we may confidently read at P. Leit. 13.10-11 *χραμ|ματεῖαν* (. . . . |*καλείαν ed. pr.*; the suggestion in BL V 48 should be ignored) *καὶ ἀπαίτησιν*. This phrase has not occurred elsewhere, but in W. Chr. 272.11 (136) the person was contracted *πρακτορεύειν καὶ χιρίζω*, where *χ(ε)ιρίζω* indicates that he was responsible for the paperwork (see Wilcken’s note). Similarly the substitute liturgists are specifically said to be responsible for the paperwork as well as the collection of the taxes in W. Chr. 263 (145), P. Mich. XI 604 (Oxy. 223), and XXXVI 2769 (242) (the last two for the *sitologia*), and this was no doubt the norm.

11–14 On the role of the royal scribe in this context, cf. P. Leit. 13.11–14, where it is also stated that the estimation of the expected tax revenue is based on the revenue of the previous year; see Th. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (2002) ii 611–21.

15–17 The term of the contract is one year, but *praktores* normally served for three years; see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*² 42.

18 καὶ τ[ὸν] συ[γ]κλεισμόν. The term *συγκλεισμός* does not seem to be otherwise attested in documents of this kind. In BGU XIII 2333.15–17, P. Princ. II 36.2–3, and SB XXII 15346.16–18, it refers to the completion of the harvesting of crops such as olives. It can also be used for the end of a time span (e.g. a year in P. Flor. I 50.14) or a fixed duration of a contract as in II 275 20 (apprenticeship), III 502 24–9 (lease of a house), and III 506 14 (loan). See also P. Michael. 43 introd., with Bell's note on p. 93. It is less likely that *συγκλεισμός* was used literally to mean the safekeeping of the collected tax revenue. It rather indicates that apart from collecting the taxes the substitute was to carry out all the paperwork to its completion.

20 ὑπακούοντα . . . κατὰ μῆνα . . . [c.4]τήρει. At the end, perhaps ἀ[ναζη]τήρει, less likely ἐ[πιζη]τήρει (RLC); this would imply reading [τ]ῆ before κατὰ, but eta is difficult to read. Such a phrase is not attested elsewhere. For the use of the verb in this context, see P. Leit. 13.14–15 with n.

21–2 In 2769 12ff. we have ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς μετροῦσι θέματα καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ τὰ συνήθη συναιρέματα, and in P. Mich. 604.16–17 ἐκδιδόντα τ[οῖς] μετροῦσι διαστολὰς καὶ θέματα καὶ ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ καθ' ἕκαστον μηνιαῖον ἐπιδιδόντα τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραλαμβανομένου πυροῦ τὰ συναιρέματα, both in comparable contexts. The monthly διαστολή should be sent to the strategus: see e.g. X 1283 or XLIV 3174 r.

23–4 τῶν ἀπόρων' καὶ δυσ[σ]πράκτων. The ἄποροι, those 'without the wherewithal' to pay the tax or taxes involved, have long been in evidence in the papyri from Roman Egypt. The word *δύσπρακτος* on the other hand has not previously appeared in the papyri. The sense may be 'faring ill, unfortunate', as in Paul. Al. 65.15 (a sense to be added to LSJ; cf. LSJ s.v. *εὔπρακτος* II), i.e., 'insolvent'. But it is tempting to compare the use of *δυσείπρακτος* in P. Leit. 13.20–21, τοῦ μέ]ρους τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ δ[υ]σειπρά[κτων], referring to the part (*sc.* of the tax to be collected) falling upon those who are 'lacking in means and difficult to collect from' (δ[υ]σειπρά[κτων] W. B. Henry, comparing *ἀνείπρακτος*: δ[υ]σειπρα[χθησομένων] *ed. pr.*, but the verb would not be correctly formed [Kühner–Blass, *Grammatik* ii 322(b)]). For the combination, cf. also Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vit. Sab.* 54 (p. 145 Schwartz), where Sabas in 511 appeals to the emperor Anastasius to cancel the extra levy (*περισσοπρακτία*) imposed on the Church of the Resurrection and other landowners in Jerusalem ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ *δυσπράκτων προσώπων*, i.e., as a result of the transfer of the debts of indigent landowners. 5107 may therefore suggest that not only in this late period but already some three hundred years earlier the expression ἄποροι καὶ *δύσπρακτοι* had become technical fiscal terminology to distinguish destitute and other taxpayers from those from whom it was difficult to collect the taxes. It might be questioned, however, whether *δύσπρακτος* is indeed a technical term, since it is rarely attested in a fiscal sense. An alternative interpretation may be that the two terms are used to denote the same group of people, yet seen from different angles: ἄποροι, when the tax base/assessment is considered, and *δύσπρακτοι*, when the tax-collecting proper is meant. But the *δύσπρακτοι* could just as well be persons whom the collector could not get hold of. Alternatively, ἄπορος may be the only technical term here that denotes a statutory situation, while all other accounts insolvent for unforeseen reasons are qualified as *δύσπρακτοι*.

34 παρα]λήμψ[ε]ται. Cf. P. Mich. 604.14 τὴν παράλημψιν ποιήσεται in a comparable context; perhaps also P. Oslo III 135.19–20.

36–8 The *προθεσμία*, or due date, was normally the last day of the month. Of the three payments envisaged here the first is due at mid month and is so specified; nothing similar is said of the other two payments because they conform to the norm. In other words the three payments were due on 16 Pharmouthi, 30 Epeiph, and 30 Phaophi.

38 ἐξενίαντα. For the sense ‘in the following year’ see H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 92 (1961) 551–2 = *Scriptunculae* i 357–8.

42 τὰ π[ροκείμε]ν[a. Cf. P. Mich. 604.26, PSI III 218.4, etc. Other texts have τὰ προγεγραμμένα, but this is too long for the space.

44 Ἀντῶ[νίνου] is slightly easier to match with the traces than Καί[αρος; Καίσαρος] may have been written at the end of 43 (*Τίτου* is impossible to read). The formula *Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Ἀντωνίνου* is very rare (only in O. Claud. III 522 and 526), and rarer without *Καίσαρος* (see LXIV 4434 13–14 and n.).

N. LEWIS / TH. KRUSE

5108. REGISTER OF LITURGISTS

100/195(a)

17.9 × 17.5 cm

Second/third century
Plate XI

Parts of three columns written along the fibres; the back was reused for LXIX 4719, Isocr. *Ad Nicoclem*. A sheet-join is visible c.3 cm from the left-hand edge. Above col. ii is the number οη (= 78), written by a different hand from that of the main text: we have parts of columns 77–9 of a register of liturgists. To judge from the presence of a fairly generous and regular lower margin on the back, the roll was, as often, cut horizontally before the Isocrates text was copied. The original column height cannot be determined.

The three columns consist of successive entries. Each entry occupies a single line and gives the liturgist's name in the nominative and his father's name in the genitive, followed by his official title and the place where he was liable for liturgical duties. The last is given in the form τῆς αὐτῆς/ᾶ, sc. κώμης (but see ii 5 n.). Only i 9 does not follow this pattern: whether it ends with the name of a village or not (see below), it probably forms the title of a section dealing with a single village, to which the following lines refer. The register is thus probably divided into sections, according to villages within a larger administrative unit.

There is no exact parallel to 5108 among published papyri. To judge by its juxtaposition of *δημόσιοι κώμης* (ii 2–7, 9–10; see ii 2 n. para. 3) and *πράκτορες* (ii 11–16), it could hardly be a *γραφὴ δημοσίων* (for lists of this category, see C. Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes und Phylakon-Steuer im griechisch-römischen Ägypten* (2005) 103–17, 125–31, and D. Hennig, *Chiron* 36 (2006) 9–10). Cf. also the *γραφὴ πρακτόρων* in P. Cair. Preis. 11.2 (Ars.; II/III), which seems to be distinct from the *γραφαὶ δημοσίων*. A possible solution is to consider 5108 as a *γραφὴ λειτουργῶν*. This term may have replaced *γραφὴ δημοσίων* in the third century. Behind this putative terminological shift could be the creation of a species of extended register to include a wider range of liturgists; see Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes* 112. The argument may be strengthened by P. Ryl. II 91 (Ars.; early III), an extract of a ‘register of liturgists’ kept in the archive of public acts (1–2, ἐκ βιβλιοθήκης δημοσίων [λόγων,] ἐκ γραφῆς λειτουργῶν), which records fiscal agents responsible for the collection of

crown tax at Euhcmeria. These tax collectors, interpreted by the editors of P. Ryl. II as *πράκτορες στεφανικῶν*, could hardly have been *δημόσιοι κώμης*. The *γραφὴ λειτουργῶν* should therefore present a similar diversity of liturgists to that of **5108**. Vice versa, **5108** may well be an early example of the *γραφὴ λειτουργῶν*. (Contrary to what might be inferred from Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes* 111–13, and Hennig, loc. cit. 9, the term *γραφὴ λειτουργῶν* is not typically Oxyrhynchite.) See also the *ἀναγραφὴ λειτουργῶν* mentioned in P. Cair. Preis. 20.1 (Herm.; 356/7), which Preisigke interprets as a draft.

That said, there is a remarkable difference between **5108** and the *γραφὴ λειτουργῶν* of which P. Ryl. 91 is an extract. While **5108** only offers basic information about each person listed, P. Ryl. 91.3–9 also details the liturgists' ages and *poros*-qualifications. Among published lists of liturgists or liturgy nominees, there are some that do not mention age and *poros*; see e.g. BGU III 700 (II), P. Berl. Leihg. I 6 (166/7), P. Ryl. II 89 (191/2), P. Cair. Preis. 11 (II/III). However, unlike **5108**, all these texts refer to single villages, with people grouped under various liturgies, which function as headings. The assumed plurality of villages in **5108** suggests that the individuals listed here are not nominees but appointed liturgists. It would be difficult and perhaps pointless to compile in a register lists of numerous liturgy candidates from different villages. For such proposals, see e.g. P. Petaus 60–65 (185), and possibly also 66–69; also P. Berl. Leihg. I 6, especially Kalén's supplementary remark in the introd. (p. 121).

The villages concerned are probably not Oxyrhynchite. Some of the names have never been attested in Oxyrhynchite documents: *Ἀρμαχίς* (ii 2), *Ἀρόρηις* (ii 6, iii 2), *Χαλής* (iii 4); cf. also ii 4, iii 3 nn. If the village name *Θνᾶ(βίς)* is read in i 9, the villages will belong to the Mendesian nome, though the personal names do not decisively point to the Delta. Two Mendesian texts have been published in P. Oxy., viz. XXIV **2414** and XLIV **3205**. The hand is reminiscent of that of P. Thmouis I, and even of **3205** (except for the pis at line-beginning and the rhos).

col. i

τῆς] ἀύτῆς
 τῆς α]ύτῆς
 τῆς αὐ]τ[ῆ]ς
 τῆς αὐ]τῆς
 5 τῆς αὐ]τῆς
 τῆς] α(ύτῆς)
 τῆς α]ύτῆς
 τῆς αὐ]τῆς
]θνα
 10]–
 τῆς αὐτ]ῆς

τῆς αὐτ]ῆς
 τῆς] αὐτῆς
 τῆς] α(ὐτῆς)
 15]-
 τῆς αὐτῆ]ς
 6 ā 14 ā

col. ii

(m.2) οη

X.ς Ἀρμ. χιος πεδιοφύλ(αξ) τῆς αὐτῆς
 P[3-4]ος Ἀρ. ικ() νυκτοφύλ(αξ) τῆς αὐτῆς
 . . [1-2]νορσι[ς] Φμοίτο(ς) ἀρχέφο[δ(ος)] . ρι. . () τῆς α(ὐτῆς)
 5 . [3-4] . Ὀνώφριος ὀριο(φύλαξ) ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς)
 [4-5] Ἀροήριος ὀριο(φύλαξ) [τ]ῆς αὐτῆς
 A[2-3] . ος ὀμίου ὀριο(φύλαξ) κ. . () ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς)
 Μίυσιος Σαραπίωνος ἐπιμελη(τῆς) . . ο τῆς α(ὐτῆς)
 Νεμφερῶς Ἀντινόου πρ(εσβύτερος) τῆς αὐτῆς
 10 Σερίνος Ἀνουβίωνος πρ(εσβύτερος) τῆ[ς αὐτ]ῆς
 Ἀρποκράς ὀμίου πράκ(τωρ) σιτικ(ῶν) ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς)
 Νεμφερῶς ὀμίου πράκ(τωρ) σιτικ(ῶν) τῆς α(ὐτῆς)
 Σας Φοίου πράκ(τωρ) σιτικ(ῶν) τῆς α(ὐτῆς)
 Ἄμουσις Λουκίου πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) [τῆς α(ὐτῆς) (?)
 15 Ἀντίνοος Νεμφερῶ(τος) πράκ(τωρ) ἀ[ργ(υρικῶν) τῆς α(ὐτῆς) (?)
 Ἐρμαῖσκ(ος) Διδύμου πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) [τῆς α(ὐτῆς) (?)
 [.]...[.].[5]...[.]...λ() [

2 πεδιοφύλ^λ 3 αρ. ι^κ νυκτοφύ^λ 4 φμοιτ^ο . ρι. . ? 4, 5, 7, 8, 11-13 ā
 5-7 οριο?; 1. ὀριο(φύλαξ)? 7, 11, 12 1. ὀμοίου 7 κ. . ? 8 ἐπιμελῆ^η 9,
 10 πῖ 10 1. Σερήνος 11-16 πρακ 11-13 σιτι^κ 14, 16 αρῖ 15 νεμφερ^ω
 16 ερμαικ^κ 17] . ? ...^λ

col. iii

Ἀνουβάς Πξ. []
 Ἀρόρησις Διδυμ[]
 Ἰμούθης Ἰερ. []
 Χαλῆς Π. . . []
 5 Ἄμουσις Πω[]
 Τούρβων []

A[

col. ii

'78'

'Ch—suis (?) son of Harmachis, field-guard of the same (village).

'Rh—us son of Ar—ic (?), night-guard of the same.

'—nousis (?) son of Phmois, archephodos . . . of the same.

' . . . son of Onnophris, desert-guard from the same.

' . . . son of Harocris, desert-guard of the same.

'A—os son of A—os, desert-guard . . . from the same.

'Miysius son of Sarapion, overseer . . . the same.

'Nempheros son of Antinous, (village) elder of the same.

'Serenus son of Anoubion, elder of the same.

'Harpocras son of Harpocras, collector of grain-taxes from the same.

'Nempheros son of Nempheros, collector of grain-taxes of the same.

'Sa—s son of Pho—uius, collector of grain-taxes of the same.

'Amounis son of Lucius, collector of money-taxes . . . the same.

'Antinous son of Nempheros, collector of money-taxes . . . the same.

'Hermaiscus son of Didymus, collector of money-taxes . . . the same.

' . . .

col. iii

'Anoubas son of Pe— [

'Haroeris son of Didym— [

'Imouthes son of Hier— [

'Chales son of P— (?) [

'Amounis son of Po— (?) [

'Tourbon . . .

'A— (?) [

col. i

9]θνα rather than]θερα (not]θυρα). Alpha may be slightly raised. The textual structure (see introd.) suggests a place name; of those attested, only Θνά(βεωσ) from SPP XVII pp. 13–17.267, 511, 529, 564 (Thmouis; II/III) provides a match. The sequence -θνα- could of course be part of a personal name, but a personal name would not fit in the context.

10, 15 It is unclear whether the horizontal stroke is part of $\bar{\alpha}$ or of the sigma of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$.

col. ii

2 X̄ . . . ςυις. Possibly a new name. There is a big down-turned loop-serif at the upper-right end of the chi. It can hardly be omicron, for an omicron linked to a preceding chi usually has an upward turn.

Ἀρμ . χιος: apparently Ἀρμέχιος, for Ἀρμάχιος. The vocalisation in -ε- of this name is not attested otherwise. Most instances of this name come from the Arsinoite nome; there is none from the Oxyrhynchite.

πεδιοφύλα(αξ). See Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes* 93, 137. This liturgist as well as other policing agents (φύλακες) belong to the δημόσιοι κώμης, viz. *Dorforgane* led by village elders (πρεσβύτεροι), as opposed to other liturgists who are the government's agents in villages (πράκτορες, *κυτολόγοι*, etc.) under the direction of *κωμογραμματεῖς*. See F. Oertel, *Liturgie* (1917) 150–51; Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes* 90–92.

3 Αρ. ικ(). The third letter could be rho or theta.

νυκτοφύλ(αξ). See D. Hennig, *Chiron* 32 (2002) 281–95; Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes* 93.

4 Φμόιτο(ς). Popular in Upper Egypt, the name is attested only once in Oxyrhynchus (P. Iand. VII 139.17).

ἀρχέφο[δ(ο)]. On ἀρχέφοδοι, see LXXIV 5000 4–5 n.

. ρι. . (). The first letter is alpha or epsilon, linked to rho. What precedes the abbreviation indicator is a long stroke without a descender; it can hardly be phi. It is difficult to read ἐριοπ(λύτης) or ἐριοπ(ώλης), pi being the end-curve, meaning that the appointed desert-guard was a fuller or wool-dealer. It is also difficult to read ὀριοφ(ύλα-). Even if this were to be read, the meaning would remain unclear: certainly not ἀρχέφοδος ὀρεοφυλάκων, but ἀρχέφοδος ὀρεοφύλαξ (an unattested cumulative *munus*? an *archephodos* elected amongst the desert-guards?). For the function of ὀρεοφύλαξ, see Hennig, *Chiron* 36 (2006) 1–9.

5 ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς). ἀπό is added also in 7 and 11. If not interchangeable with the simple τῆς α(ὐτῆς), this phrase may indicate that a liturgist had his *ιδία* in this particular village, in contrast to those appointed because they resided or worked or possessed real estate in the village. For *ιδία*, *ἐπιδημία*, and *γεουχία* as factors in the nomination to liturgies, see H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung* (1964) 185–6.

6 Η]ροήριος. Cf. iii 2. The name is mostly attested in Upper Egypt, and very sporadically in the Arsinoite and Heracleopolite nomes, but not in the Oxyrhynchite.

7 ὁμίον, 1. ὁμοίου. Cf. 11, 12. This presumably functions in the same way as ὁμοίως in tax receipts and lists, indicating that the father has the same name as his son, though this usage has not been attested before. The resolution ὁ(μοίου) in O. Strasb. 193.1–2 Ψευμίνιο(ς) ὁ(μοίως) τοῦ ὁ(μοίου) is probably prompted by the presence of the definite article. Other editors, however, have proposed τοῦ ὁμοίως for τοῦ — / ὁ() / ὁμ(); see P. Bour. 42.417 (as reproduced in DDbDP); O. Bodl. II 1717.2; P. Lond. I 119.7.

κ. . (). After kappa, two or three letters. Neither κατασταθείς nor καταγινόμενος looks likely. Nor can we think of any professional name that could fit the traces.

8 ἐπιμελη(τής). No ἐπιμεληταί are attested in any published γραφή δημοσίων or λειτουργῶν. No detailed study has been published on ἐπιμεληταί in villages of the Roman period. They are usually not involved in taxation; cf. e.g. χωματεπιμεληταί in P. Berl. Leihg. II 26.24 [= SB X 10614], mentioned alongside an αἰγιαλοφύλαξ; ἐπιμεληταί οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμνασμοῦ in P. Brem. 29.7–8; χωματεπιμελητήης in P. Coll. Youtie I 21 = XLV 3264 10.

. . ρ. If this sequence refers to the object of the overseer's surveillance, it should be transcribed as . . ρ(). It is difficult to read ἀπό, since the putative pi would appear to be abnormally ligatured to the top loop of the dubious alpha.

9 Νεμφερῶς. Cf. 12, 15. The name is usually written Νεφερῶς; the form is unique to this text, though cf. P. Lond. II 466.12 Πανεμφρέμει, as read by U. Wilcken, *APF* 3 (1906) 243 (the dot is not reported in BL I 263).

πρ(εσβύτερος). Cf. 10. Apparently a πρεσβύτερος κώμης; see LXXIV 5003 2 n.

13 Φο. . υίου. The third letter might be mu.

14 Ἀμουνις. Cf. iii 5. Fairly well attested in the Delta and the Arsinoite nome, this name appears in papyri of Oxyrhynchite provenance in LXXV 5016 (unless Ἀμούνιος), SB VI 8971, XIV 12139 (where the name is not borne by an Oxyrhynchite), and XVI 13035.

col. iii

3 Ὑμούθης. Well attested in Upper Egypt, the Heracleopolite and Arsinoite nomes, and the Delta, this name has occurred in only two Oxyrhynchite texts, P. Turner 17.2 and P. Hib. II 248 (official correspondence concerned with the Oxyrhynchite nome).

4 Χαλής. This name has not appeared in any published text from Oxyrhynchus.

5109. LOAN OF BARLEY

118/83(b)

8.5 × 36.6 cm

September–January(?) 162/3

A document written along the fibres in two long duplicate columns. The second column is virtually complete, but only line-ends remain from the first. The columns are separated by a narrow space and diverge mainly in four lines of the subscriptions (62, 67, 69, 71), in which col. i shows abbreviations that col. ii does not; see also apparatus 16, 34 nn. Three vertical folds, resulting in four vertical panels, are visible, along with a horizontal fold at which the papyrus has broken half-way down. The back is blank. Since there are no changes of hand in the subscriptions, the document must be a copy.

The text is a loan of nine artabas of barley contracted by three inhabitants of the village of Mouchinaroou in the Thmoisepho toparchy from Horion son of Callinicus, a citizen of Alexandria. It is to be returned at the relatively uncommon interest rate of 33.3% (see 14–15 n.) after the beginning of the harvest and with a penalty of 50% in case of default. Horion is presumably an absentee landowner in the area, and the debtors are perhaps lessees in need of seed for the sowing season. In an unusual provision, the debtors apparently undertake to transport the returned loan to a different village, Senepta in the Middle toparchy (see 25–8 n.).

For a list of loans in kind, see D. Foraboschi and A. Gara, *Athenaeum* 60 (1982) 81–3 (XXII **2350** col. iii (223) and P. Mich. XI 614 (c.258/9; see BL VIII 216) from Oxyrhynchus were missed). Roman-period loans in kind from the Oxyrhynchite nome published since are LXXI **4826** (168/9) (debtor from the Heracleopolite nome), XLIX **3493–4** (175), SB XXIV 16172 (224) = VI **988** r, P. Col. X 277 (225), LXI **4117** (240) ('writing practice'), and LXIV **4439** (258/9). For a list of loans involving barley, see N. Gonis, *JJP* 28 (1998) 19 n. 2.

col. ii

Ζώϊλος Ἀφύγχιος καὶ Πά-
 ρεις Διογένους καὶ Ψόϊς Ἀρ-
 ψοιφίς ἀμφότερο(ι) ἀπὸ Μου-
 χιναρωου τῆς Θμοινσε-
 5 φω τοπαρχίας τοῖ(ς) τρισὶ
 Πέρσαις τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
 Ὀρίωνι Καλλινίκου Ὡσι-
 κοσμίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀλθεεῖ χαίρειν.
 ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐσχηκέναι
 10 καὶ παραμεμετρήσθαι παρὰ
 σοῦ κρειθῆς ἀρτάβας
 ἑννέα, γείν[ο]νται κεφαλαί(ο)υ

κρειθῆς ἀρτάβας ἐννέα,
 ὧν τάξομαί σοι διαφόρου
 15 ἐκ τρίτου ἀρτάβας τρεῖς,
 γείνονται κεφαλαίο(υ) σὺν δια-
 φόρου ἀρτάβας δεκαδύο,
 ἅς καὶ ἀποδόσωμέν σοι
 ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἄνευ) εὐρησο-
 20 λογίας τῷ Παυνι μηνὶ τοῦ
 ἐνεστῶτος δευτέρου ἔτους
 Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίνου
 καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων
 Σεβαστῶν ἐφ' ἄλλω τῆς αὐτ(ῆς)
 25 Μουχιναρω(υ), κα[ῖ] ἀποκα-
 ταστήσομέν σοι ε[ῖ]ς Ζενεπ(τα)
 ο καὶ παραμεμετρήσθαι
 κρειθὴν νέον κ[α]θαρόν
 ἄδολον ἄβολον κκεκος-
 30 κινευμένον καὶ καλῶς
 πεπατημένον χωρὶς αἴρης
 καὶ αἰθέρος μέτρῳ (τετρα)χοι-
 νείκῳ Ὄρου Ἀφύγχ[ι]ος ἀπὸ
 τῆς αὐτῆ[ς] Μουχιναρωου,
 35 τῶν παρὰ τοῦ προγεγραμ-
 μένου Ὄρίωνο(ς) ἑαυτοῖς
 μετρούντων. εἰάν δὲ
 μὴ ἀποτώμεν καθὰ γέ-
 γραπται, ἐκτίσωμέν σοι
 40 τὸ μὲν προκείμενον
 κεφάλαιον σὺν τοῖς ἀχθη-
 σομέν[οι]ς διαφόρου μεθ' ἡ-
 μιολίας, καὶ ἡ πράξις σοι
 ἔστω ἐκ τῆς ἡμεῖν καὶ ἐκ
 45 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμεῖν
 πάντων ὄντων ἀλλη-
 λεγγύων εἰς ἕκτισιν
 καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν αἰρήται.
 κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον
 50 διςσὸν γραφὲν ὁμότυπον

- πανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον
καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπι-
φέροντι. (ἔτους) β̄ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
55 Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ
καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Λουκί[ο]υ Αὐρηλί[ο]υ [Οὐήρο]υ
Σεβαστοῦ [] . [c.5] θ̄.
Ζωίλος Ἀφύγχιος ἔσχον
60 σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κρειθῆς
ἀρτάβας ἐννέα καὶ ἀπο-
δώσωμ[έν σοι c] ὑν̄ διαφόρου ἀρτάβα[ς
τρεις, γείνο[νται] ἀρτάβας δεκαδύ[ο,
ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύ[η]ς ὡς πρόκ[ε]ιται). Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ
65 Ζωίλ(ος) Διδύμου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα. Πάσις
Διογένους καὶ Ψόις Ἀρψόιτος
c[υ]νέσχομεν καὶ συναποδό-
σωμεν ὡς πρόκειται. Ἡρακλῆς
70 Ἀχιλλέως ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ {ὑπὲρ}
αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδότης γράμ-
ματα. χρόνος ὁ αὐτός.

1-2 l. Πάσις	3 l. -ψοίφιος	4-5 l. Θμοισεφω	5-6 l. οἱ τρεῖς Πέρσαι
8 l. Ἀλθαιεῖ	11, 13, 60 l. κριθῆς	13, 17, 63 l. ἀρτάβαι	14 l. ταξόμεθα . . . διάφορον
16-17, 62 l. διαφόρω	16 (col. i)]αιου	18, 62, 68-9 l. -δώσωμεν	19-20 l. εὐρησιλογίας
24 αῡ	26 σενε̄?	27 l. ὡς . . . παραμεμέτρηται?	28 l. κριθῆν νέαν καθαρὰν
29 l. ἄβωλον	30 l. -κινευμένην	31 l. πεπατημένην	32 l. ἀθέρος (col. i) Δ̄χοι
(col. ii) [Δ̄]χοι (horizontal bar crossing i is lengthened upper-right arm of x)	33 l. -νίκω	34 (col. i)]αρω̄	38 l. ἀποδώμεν
38 l. ἀποδώμεν	39 l. ἐκτείσωμεν	42 l. διάφοροις	44 l. ἡμῶν
45 l. ἡμῖν	48 l. ἡμῶν αἰρή	53 L	62 (col. i)]φορῶρτα ^β
τριῶν	64 προ ^κ	65 ζωι ^λ	67 (col. i)]ψοι ^τ
71 (col. i) γρα ^α	69 l. πρόκειται	(col. i) Ἡρα ^κ	

‘Zoilus, son of Aphynchis, and Pasis, son of Diogenes, and Psois, son of Harpsioiphis, both (*sic*) from Mouchinaroou of the Thmoisepho toparchy, the three “Persians of the *epigone*”, to Horion, son of Callinicus, of the Sosicosmian tribe and Althaeac deme, greetings.

‘We acknowledge that we have received and have had measured out from you nine artabas of barley, the principal totaling nine artabas of barley, for which we shall pay to you as interest of one-third three artabas, the principal with the interest totaling twelve artabas, which we shall return to you without delay and excuse in the month of Pauni of the present second year of Aurelii Antoninus and Verus the lords Augusti at the threshing-floor of the same Mouchinaroou. And we shall restitute the barley to you in Senepta as it has been measured out, fresh, pure, unadulterated, free from earth,

sifted, and well threshed, unmixed with darnel and chaff, (measured) by the *tetrachoinix* measure of Horus, son of Aphynchis, from the same Mouchinaroou, with the people from the aforementioned Horion measuring it for themselves. If we do not make the return according to what has been written, we shall pay to you the aforementioned principal with the accrued interest plus one-half; and let the right of execution belong to you against us and all that belongs to us as mutual sureties for the payment and against whichever one of them he (*sic*) chooses. This cheirograph, written in two copies identical in tenor, is normative wherever presented and for whoever presents it on your behalf. Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, (*month*) (-)9.

1, Zoilus, son of Aphynchis, received with the others nine artabas of barley, and we shall repay (them) to you with an interest of three artabas, totaling twelve artabas, under mutual surety, as is stipulated above. I, Didymus alias Zoilus, son of Didymus, wrote for him because he does not know letters. We, Pasis, son of Diogenes, and Psois, son of Harpsois (*sic*), received jointly and shall repay jointly, as is stipulated above. I, Heracles, son of Achilles, wrote for them because they do not know letters. The same date.'

1-2 Πάσεις (l. Πάσις). For the accentuation, see W. Clarysse, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 182.

2-3 Ἀρψοίφικ (l. -ψοίφιος). See 67 n.

3 ἀμφότερο(ι). Omission of iota from the final diphthong -οι is not a well-attested phonetic spelling and is probably inadvertent here. This adjective is sometimes used as the equivalent of ἅπαντες (see *WB* s.v. ἀμφότερος 1), as is probably the case here, since it presumably refers to all three borrowers (cf. 5 τρι(ι)). It is remotely possible that it refers to the origin of only Pasis and Psois, especially since these two are grouped apart from Zoilus in the subscription at 66-72, but Zoilus' lack of an *origo* would be problematic.

3-5 Μουχιναρῶου τῆς Θμοινσεφῶ (l. Θμοινσεφῶ) τοπαρχίας. This village has been attested only once in P. Stras. IV 220r.1 (early III), where it is spelled Μουχιναρῶ. There was another, better attested village of the same name in the Lower toparchy of the nome. Both are probably distinct from Μουχινῶρ, whose toparchy is unknown. On these villages, see *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* s.vv., downloadable from <<http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php>>. A similar spelling of the toparchy is found in PSI Congr. XXI 12.vi.6, 17 (261).

5 τοί(ς). For the omission of final -c here, possibly at 27 ό(ς) (l. ώς), and at 36 Ὀρίωνο(ς), see E. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 124-6.

5-6 τοί(ς) τρι(ι) Πέρσαις (l. οί τρεῖς Πέρσαι) τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. The scribe slips into the 'objective style' by referring to the borrowers in the dative, as if the contract were in the form ἐδάνεισε Ὀρίων κτλ. (cf. e.g. P. Fouad 48 (Oxy.; 90)). This mistake is repeated at 35-6 (παρὰ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Ὀρίωνο(ς)) and 48 (ἐξ οὗ ἐνός αὐτῶν αἰρήνται), where the parties are referred to in the third person rather than the first and second persons proper to the cheirograph's 'subjective style' (i.e. παρὰ σοῦ, ἐξ οὗ ἐνός ἡμῶν αἰρήν).

The designation Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, by the Roman period a legal fiction identifying the economically inferior party in a contract, disappears in the second half of the second century around the time of 5109. The latest example so far is possibly SB XVI 12983.4 (Ars.; 161-9). The editor of P. Oxy. Hels. 36 (167) tentatively restores the designation in the missing top of the papyrus, but on the basis of earlier parallels. P. Erl. 70.4, assigned by its editor to the early third century, probably ought to be redated to the second century.

7-8 Ἐωσικομίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀλθῆξει (l. Ἀλθαιεῖ). On Alexandrian tribes and demes, of which this is the commonest combination, see D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (1991) 49-70, 135-41.

14 ὦν τάξομαι (l. ταξόμεθα) κτλ. For the use of this verb in relation to payment of interest

(sometimes overtime interest), cf. e.g. VIII **1125** 8 (ii), P. Col. X 277.11 (225), XXXVI **2775** 16 (late iii), LXXI **4829** 15 (late iii).

14–15 *διαφόρου* (l. *διάφορον*) *ἐκ τρίτου*. The usual interest (or, more correctly, ‘yield’) on loans in kind was one-half of the principal (*ἡμισολία*), i.e. 50%, but there are several examples of interest at 33.3%: P. Lond. III 1215.5, 13–14 p. 122 (65) *ἐπὶ τόκου τρίτου*; P. Stras. I 71.8–9 (ii) *κὺν διαφόρῳ ἐκ* (BL I 406) *τρίτου*; P. Stras. VI 588.6–9 (ii) *προσμετρ[ο]ῦντός μοι* (l. *μου*) *ἐκάστη ἀρτάβη ἀντὶ δ[ι]αφόρου . . . ἀρτά[β]ης τρίτου*; P. Fouad 43.30–31 (189/90; HGV) *ἐπὶ διαφόρῳ ἐκ τρίτου*; P. NYU I 22.8 (329) *κὺν τρίτου μέρους* (l. *τρίτῳ μέρει*); BGU XIII 2339.11 (378) *κεφαλαίου ἐκ τρίτου*; cf. also P. Lond. II 218.4 p. 15 (111 BC; BL V 50) with Lewis, *infra cit.*; P. Flor. I 72.3 ff. (128/9) with n. ad loc.; XIV **1640** 7 (252) *διάφορον ἐκ τρίτου* (referring to overtime interest); and the problematic case of P. Rein. I 16 = P. Dion. 16.20 (109 BC) *τόκων τὴν ἀρτάβην ἐκάστην πυροῦ τρίτον* (see both editors’ notes ad loc. and H. E. Finckh, *Das Zinsrecht der gräco-ägyptischen Papyri* (1962) 97; cf. the doubts expressed in D. Foraboschi and A. Gara, *Pap. Congr. XVI* 338 n. 13). On interest on loans in kind and specifically the rate of 33.3%, see N. Lewis, *TAPhA* 76 (1945) 127 n. 8 = *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt* (ASP 33; 1995) 18; Finckh, *Das Zinsrecht* 95–100; Foraboschi and Gara, *Pap. Congr. XVI* 336, 338.

20 *τῷ Παννι μηνί*. This is by far the commonest month (26 May–24 June) for returning loans in kind (especially cereals) in Oxyrhynchus and corresponds to the period after the beginning of the harvest.

25–8 *κα[ι] ἀποκαταστήσομέν σοι ἐ[ι]ς Σενεπ(τα) ο καὶ παραμεμετρήσθαι* (l. *ὡς . . . παραμεμέτρηται?*) *κρειθήν* (l. *κριθήν*). The end of 26 in the first column has *εις σενεπ()*. Senepta was a village of the Middle toparchy, which shared a border with the Thmoisepho toparchy. The mention of this village, however, is puzzling, for the borrowers have just agreed to return the loan at the threshing floor of Mouchinaroou (24–5). They appear to be further committing themselves here to the transport of the barley to Senepta, at whose granary the lender Horion presumably held an account, after the formal measurement of the returned loan in Mouchinaroou. *ο καὶ παραμεμετρήσθαι* is difficult to construe. My interpretation of it as *ὡς καὶ παραμεμέτρηται* presupposes three mistakes ($\omega > \omicron$, omission of final sigma, infinitive for indicative), the first two of which are paralleled elsewhere (see 5 n., 18, 39, 62, 68–9). If this interpretation is correct, the phrase does not have any exact parallels and occurs at a rather awkward position, as it would have been expected after the object of *ἀποκαταστήσομεν*. [R.-L. Chang suggests understanding *ὦ καὶ παραμεμέτρηται*, the relative pronoun agreeing with an omitted *μέτρῳ*, though the measure is mentioned again in 32 ff.]

39–43 In case of default, the penalty that the borrowers would have to pay will consist of (capital + interest = 12 art.) + 50% of this sum, i.e. a total of 18 artabas. The *ἡμισολία* is very common in penalty clauses; see A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden* (1911) 14–23, 104.

41–2 *κὺν τοῖς ἀχθησομέν[οι]ς διαφόρου* (l. *διαφόροις*). Usually the compound *συναχθησομεν-* is employed in such phrases. It is, moreover, typically found with the word *τόκος*, except in SB XXIV 16172.26–7 (224), which has the similarly worded *κὺν τοῖς συναχθησομένοις διαφόροις* (cf. N. Gonis, *JJP* 28 (1998) 22).

58 [] [c.5] $\bar{\theta}$. The month date of the contract has not been preserved, but, as is usual with loans of cereals, it is likely to have been just before or during the sowing season, i.e. sometime between Thoth and Tybi = September–January; see Finckh, *Das Zinsrecht* 95, 98, and P. Col. X 277.9 n. (cf. above, 20 n.). The only remaining trace of the month name is in the shape of a hook or left arc slightly below line level; it is unclear whether the preceding space is blank or was occupied by now completely abraded letters (1 or 2). One may interpret the trace as the left part of the loop of phi and restore Φ [*αωφι*] (R.-L. Chang). The day is 9, 19, or 29.

67 *Ψόις Ἀρψόιτος* (col. i]*ψοι*). The patronymic was written *Ἀρψοίφιος* (l. *-ψοίφιος*) in 2–3. Both rare names are attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome (*Ἀρψοῖς*: PSI VIII 897.3, 41 (93[?]), P. Theon 19.9 (159); *Ἀρψοίφιος*: PSI Congr. XXI 12.iv.5, v.12 (261)), but they seem to be distinct names rather than variant forms of the same name: the first element of both is clearly *hr* = ‘Horus’, but their second ele-

ments are also well-attested as independent names, *Ψόικ* corresponding to *p3-šzi* ('fate') and *Ψοίφις* to *p3-syf* ('the child'; see *NB Dem.* 215). The variation here was possibly influenced by the man's name (*Ψόικ*) and may go back to the original subscription written by Heracles, son of Achilles, rather than the scribe copying the document.

A. BENAÏSSA

5110. GRANARY ACCOUNT

31 4B.11/E(1-3)a front

10 × 17 cm

After 23 June 189

A copy of a person-by-person account of giro-transfers of wheat; see XLIV 3169 introd.; P. Mich. XVIII 786.1 n. and introd. (with a list of parallels). Its back was reused for a copy of an imperial constitution published as 5114. The recycling must have taken place inside the strategus' office, where incoming documents were processed and duplicated. The copy, as it was for internal use, did not have to be exact, as shown by the present account: the addressee, presumably strategus Herammon alias Castor (*Str. R. Scr.*² 100), is not mentioned, and the title of the documentary genre is simplified (3-4); cf. XII 1444 3-6, 1525 4-7, 1526 4-7. Compare also P. Mich. 786.1-4, which omits the addressee.

Our copy was drawn up shortly after the harvest season (4-5, under Commodus). It consisted of at least two columns. Traces of the second column can be seen at the right-hand edge, opposite 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, and 17; the tiny stroke opposite 14 is a check mark. Check marks of another sort (two short parallel obliques) are added after the fourteen extant entries, running from 6 to 19.

To judge from the margins in 5114, what remains of the account shows approximately the original height of the papyrus. As ἀ(ντίγραφον) in 1 should roughly be centred relative to the column of writing below, about three-quarters of lines 2-4 will be preserved. The text is written along the fibres.

A preliminary transcript was made by J. C. Shelton. H. Cuvigny has been consulted on certain problems of reading.

ἀ(ντίγραφον)

παρ]ᾶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Λογγείνου ciτολ(όγων)

ἀπ]ηλι(ώτου) τοπ(αρχίας) Ψώβθ(εως) τόπ(ων). κατ' ἄνδρα (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν)

2-3] μεμετρη-) ὑφ' ἡμῶν κθ (ἔτους)//· ἔς[τ]ι δέ·

(vac.)

5 Π]αντι κδ⁻

3-4]ων Cαραπ() διὰ Ἀφυγχι(ιο-) γεω(ργου) θέμ(α) (ἀρτάβαι) λγ ς

4-5] . . ώνιος (ἀρτάβαι) ξς η' ς

5-6]ία καὶ Κορνήλιος (ἀρτάβαι) νθ χ(οίνικες) η ς

4-5 Ἀ]μότη[ος] (ἀρτάβαι) ρπβ η' ς

10] (ἀρτάβαι) ια L χ(οίνικες) η ς

	] γος	(ἀρτάβαι) ξε ˘
	] .	(ἀρτάβαι) μβ η' ˘
	] .	(ἀρτάβαι) β χ(οίνικες) δ ˘
	] .	(ἀρτάβαι) ρξα δ' χ(οίνικες) β ˘
15	] .	(ἀρτάβαι) ιδ ˘
	] . αρ()	(ἀρτάβαι) υπ ˘
	διὰ] γεω(ργου)	(ἀρτάβαι) φπ ζ' ˘
	] .	(ἀρτάβαι) δ ˘
	] .	(ἀρτάβαι)] η' ˘

1 α' 2 1. Λογγίνου 3]^λ το² ψωβθ το² 4 μεμετ κθ
6 αρα? αφυ^χ γε^ω θε^μ 7-19 8,10 χ^η 10 ια L corr. from ια η 13 δ
14 χ 16] αρ² 17 γε^ω

'Copy. From Alexander and Longinus, sitologi of the district of Psobthis in the eastern toparchy. (List) by person of artabas of wheat-crop measured (into the public granary) under our supervision, of the 29th year. That is:

'Payni 24.

—on son of Sarap—, through Aphynchis/-chius, farmer, as a deposit, 33 artabas

—onius, 66 $\frac{1}{8}$ artabas

—ia and Cornelius, 59 artabas 8 choenices

... son of Amois, 182 $\frac{1}{8}$ artabas

..., 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabas 8 choenices

—nos, 65 artabas

..., 42 $\frac{1}{8}$ artabas

..., 2 artabas 4 choenices

..., 161 $\frac{1}{4}$ artabas 2 choenices

..., 14 artabas

..., 480 artabas

..., through ... , farmer, 580 $\frac{1}{6}$ artabas

..., 4 artabas

..., ... $\frac{1}{8}$ artabas'

1 For this abbreviation of ἀντίγραφον, see XII **1428** 1 n. The adjoined abbreviation slash is quite short here. Cf. e.g. XXXI **2558** 1, where it runs through the alpha.

2 The pi of παρ]ά must have been written large and in *ekthesis*, to judge from the beginning of 3, where nothing is to be supplemented before ἀπ]ηλ(ιώτου).

3 Ψώβθ(εως). For the sitologi of Psobthis in the eastern toparchy, see LXXII **4882** 1-2 n.

The word λόγος, as the subject of 4 εἰ[τ]ι δέ, is to be understood before κατ' ἀνδρα, hence the genitive case of (ἀρταβῶν).

4 τῶν] μεμετ(ρημένων) or, less likely, ὧν/αἰ] μεμέτ(ρηται). The hasta of the raised tau is extended downwards to form an abbreviation curve.

6 θέμ(α). To be resolved in the nominative: see LXXII **4856** 9 n., where it is noted that this grammatical case finds no coherent syntactical explanation. Another solution is to consider θέμα here

as a purely technical term of accounting that stays indeclinable, just in the way the term *τράπεζα* is treated by R. Bogaert, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 217 [= *Trap. Aeg.* 375].

7] . . . ὄνιος. It is tempting to read *K]αιζώνιος*, but the ligature between -αι- would be unusual in this text. We might read]ψώνιος, but there are no Latin personal names ending this way.

7, 9, 12, 19 The stroke transcribed as the fraction $\frac{1}{8}$ may also be read as the symbol for $\frac{1}{2}$, but the correction in 10 argues against this alternative.

16] . αρ(). The first trace may represent an iota ligatured to a preceding letter (sigma?). The raised curve after rho may stand for pi.

R.-L. CHANG

5111. PETITION OF TEMPLE PERSONNEL

27 3B.43/F(2)

26.2 × 29.2 cm

Second/third century.

The text is written along the fibres. The back is blank. A *kollesis* is visible about 7.2 cm from the right-hand edge. About half of the original text has been lost at the left; see 1 n. Five vertical folds and similarly shaped holes in proximity suggest that the papyrus was rolled with the right edge inside.

The text is written in an upright cursive. Letters are smaller and line-spacing narrower at the top than in the rest of the document. The only firm indication of the date is the reference to Oxyrhynchus as ἡ Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλις, a usage not attested before 155 (see 8 n.). We may assign the text to the second half of the second century or very early in the third. This suits the palaeography; cf. P. Flor. I 67 (161–9), reproduced in Pap. Flor. XXX tav. cxvi, and Schubart, *PGB* 32b (200). A year 7 or 17 is mentioned in 8, but which year is meant cannot be determined (see 8 n.).

The scribe has corrected himself (4, 18, 19, 22), and attempted to separate the words, most of the time successfully (but note e.g. ἀντιλέγομεν written as αν τι λεγομεν, 11; παστοφόροι as πας το φοροι, 18). He tends to split compounds (e.g., προχωρειν, 10), to join words to enclitics that follow them (e.g., ιερακου, 11; δωσωκοι, 15), and not to separate words where elision occurs (e.g., ἀπ'έμοῦ, 14). A space about two letters wide occasionally serves as punctuation, e.g., after δώσω κοι (15) and before ἤδη γάρ (17). Diaeresis (twice inorganic, at 3 and 9) is added over every initial ι and υ. Rough breathings are added in two instances (18, 22), both times in the angular form (see Turner, *GMAW*² p. 11).

The text is a petition to a procurator (1, 5), probably either the High Priest or the official in charge of the Idios Logos (see 1 n.). The official seems to have been engaged in this matter before (9, 11, 20?), and this may be a further petition seeking to reopen the matter (see 11 n.). The petitioners state that they are βωμοφύλακες of a temple and θαλλοδόται (12). They are differentiated from the παστοφόροι (cf. 10) and may well have been of lower status. The loss of approximately half of this papyrus on the left, in addition to further, sometimes severe, damage to the surviving

part, has made recovery of the details of the petition impossible. There is reference to an old custom (7) and to the allocation (in the earlier judgement?) of two-thirds of something to the *παστοφόροι* (10). The petitioners explain that they purchase the *θαλλοί* (13), which they presumably sell at a profit to visitors to the temple. It is likely that the *παστοφόροι* had, in the view of the petitioners, taken more of the profits than was fair, hence this petition.

The petition probably includes references to the temple of Kore at Oxyrhynchus, to the Great Sarapeum in Alexandria, and to at least one more temple (3–5). The interest of the document is also lexicographical: *βωμοφύλαξ* (11, 12) and *ἀρχιβοθυνιστής* (3) were previously unattested in papyri, while the papyrus preserves the second papyrological attestation of *διάδομα* (16), and of *θαλλοδότης* and *θαλλοδοτῶ* (3, 12, 14). Unfortunately, because of the fragmentary state of the text, it does not help us to understand the function of *βωμοφύλακες*, *θαλλοδοταί*, and *ἰδιῶται* in the temple or their relation to *παστοφόροι*.

τῶ κρατίστῳ ἐπιτρόπῳ τοῦ κυ]ρίου Σεβαστοῦ (vac.)

] πόλεως καὶ [π]αρὰ Ἡρα[c.4]ος Θέωνος Σωσικοςμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθ(αι)έως
]ρης ἱερο[ῦ(?) τῆ]ς αὐτ[ῆς] πόλεως καὶ θαλλοδότου καὶ ἀρχιβοθυνιστοῦ
]ς αὐτ[. c.5]οις καὶ [ἐν] τῷ Μεγάλῳ Σαραπίῳ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως
]ως δ[έ]ξις] προσφ[έ]ρομεν, ἐπιτρόπων μέγιστε, πάνκαλον καὶ
] κριτῶν [εὐτυ]χεστάτων Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας συνετήρησεν
]. ουν[.]. [c.8] . . [.] ρησον ἡμεῖν τὸ παλαιὸν ἡμῶν ἔθος
]. ος ἐν τῇ [c.8] μων ἐν τῇ Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν π[ό]λει τῷ ἰζ(?) (ἔτει)

τ]ῶν παστοφόρων καὶ διὰ τῶν σῶν ὑπομνημάτων εἶπας τὸ περι

] προχωρεῖν μὲν τοῖς παστοφόροις δύο μέρη, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον

] βωμοφύλακες καὶ τὰ ἱερά σου γράμματα οὐκ ἀντιλέγομεν, ὁ δὲ

] ο[ῦ] μόνον βωμοφύλακές ἐσμεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαλλοδοταί τοῦ

]ς πόλεως καὶ φέρομεν τοὺς θαλλοὺς ἀγοράζοντες χαλκοῦ καὶ καθήμεθα ἐν

] . θαλλοδοτοῦντες, ἔρχεται ὁ ἰδιώτης, πολλάκις θαλλοδοτεῖται ἀπ' ἐμοῦ

ὁ]βολὸν λέγων ὅτι ἄλλη ἡμέρα δώσω σοι· οὗτος δὲ εἰς

] τὸν ὀβ[ολὸν] τὸν τότε, τουτέ[στιν] διάδομα, καὶ δίδωσκιν

] χεῖ[ρας] ἡ[μ]ῶν. ἤδη γὰρ ὁ ἰδιώτης δέδωκεν

] .ς ἐν[ὸς] ἐ[κ]άστου καὶ αὐτοῖ οἱ παστοφ[ε]οροὶ πάλιν λαμ-

]εως [. . .] .ν λάβη εἰς χεῖρας παρὰ τοῦ ἰδιώτου αὐτ.

] .ων[. . .] ὑπομνημάτων καὶ πολλάκις καλεῖ ἡμᾶς

] . η οἱ συνχωρηθέντες καταφανοῖντο

παστο]φόρος c . . [.] ε . . ἂ δεξω [λέ]γων ὅτι δεῖ με

διαλ]αβεῖν [c.7] ἰν' ὠ(μεν) βεβο[ηθ]ημένοι. διευτύχει.

2	1. $\text{C}\omega\text{c}\text{i}\text{k}\text{o}\text{s}\mu\acute{\iota}\text{o}\upsilon$	3	$\text{i}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron[\upsilon$	4	$\text{c}\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\omega$: ω CORR. from $\omicron\upsilon$	5	1. $\text{p}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$	
7	1. $\eta\acute{\mu}\acute{\iota}\nu$	8	1. $\text{O}\xi\upsilon\rho\nu\gamma\chi\text{i}\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$	L	9, 20	$\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omega\nu$	11 $\text{i}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$	12 $\text{i}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon$
14	$\text{i}\ddot{\delta}\text{i}\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$	18	$\acute{\epsilon}\gamma[$	19	$\text{p}\alpha\rho\alpha$: π CORR. from α	$\text{i}\ddot{\delta}\text{i}\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon$	$\alpha\upsilon\tau.$: cancelled diaeresis over υ	
21	1. $\text{c}\upsilon\gamma\chi\omega\rho\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$	$\text{k}\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\text{i}\tau\omicron$ OR $\text{k}\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\alpha\text{n}\omicron\upsilon\text{i}\tau\omicron$		22	$\text{c}.$. . . [: the letter after sigma is a correction			
	$\acute{\alpha}$	23	$\text{i}\nu$	horizontal strokes above and below		$\text{d}\text{i}\epsilon\upsilon\tau\upsilon\chi\epsilon\text{i}$		

‘To . . . *vir egregius*, procurator of lord Augustus . . . of the city (of Oxyrhynchi ?) . . . , and from Hera— son of Theon, of the Sosicosmian tribe and Althaeac deme, . . . of the temple of [Kore] of the same city and *thalldotes* and *archibothynistes* . . . (in the same temples ?) and in the Great Sarapeum of the most splendid city (of Alexandria ?) of necessity(?) we present a most-befitting and . . . petition, (you) greatest of procurators, . . . the judges of the authority of the most blessed Romans (or: the authority of the judges of the most blessed Romans) preserved . . . [preserve] for us our ancient custom . . . (at the hearing of our case ?) . . . in the city of the Oxyrhynchites in the 17th year . . . of the *pastophoroi* and through your minutes you said that the . . . two parts to be allocated to the *pastophoroi* and the other part . . . guards of the altar, and we do not speak against your sacred rulings, but . . . not only are we guards of the altar of the temple but also distributors of branches of the . . . of the city, and we carry the branches, buying them in cash, and we sit in . . . distributing the branches, the layman comes; he is often presented with branches by me . . . obol, saying that “I will give it to you another day”, but this man to . . . the obol at that time(?), that is, distributed money(?), and he gives . . . [into] our hands(?). For the layman has already given . . . of each one and the *pastophoroi* themselves again receive . . . he receives in his hands from the layman the . . . itself . . . of your(?) minutes, and he often calls us . . . those who were agreed(?) should appear . . . *pastophoros* . . . , which . . . , saying that, “I must . . .”. (We ask you ?) to give a decision so that we may obtain redress. Farewell’.

1–2 $\text{C}\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ and $\text{k}\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $[\pi]\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ are read on a detached fragment shown on an archive photograph, but are now partially lost.

1 $\text{k}\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{i}\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\text{k}\upsilon$] $\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\text{C}\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$. We know from line 5 that the petition was addressed to an $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{i}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$. All we should expect before this is the *gentilicium* and *cognomen* of the procurator, from which we can form an approximate idea of the amount lost at the left. The $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{i}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ addressed in this petition may be the High Priest of Alexandria and all Egypt, the official in charge of temple affairs in Egypt; see G. M. Parásoglou, *ζPE* 13 (1974) 32–7, and M. Stead in *Pap. Congr. XVI* (1981) 411–18. One may also think of the *Idios Logos*, who had certain religious duties, in particular the sale of salable temple offices and the investigation and judgement for irregularities in the occupation of the same offices; see P. R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (1970) 57–9, 75, 83–96.

2 The line will have begun with $\text{p}\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, no doubt followed by the name and description of the first petitioner. After this, $\acute{\alpha}\pi'$ $\text{O}\xi\upsilon\rho\nu\gamma\chi\omega\nu$] $\text{p}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ seems to be standard at this point.

$\text{H}\rho\alpha$ [$\text{c}.$ 4] $\omicron\varsigma$: probably $\text{H}\rho\alpha$ [$\text{k}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau$] $\omicron\varsigma$. The space does not seem sufficient for $\text{H}\rho\alpha$ [$\text{k}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$] $\omicron\varsigma$. $\text{H}\rho\alpha$ [$\text{p}\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$] $\omicron\varsigma$, not yet attested for any Oxyrhynchite, is less likely.

$\text{C}\omega\text{c}\text{i}\text{k}\text{o}\varsigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\text{i}\omicron\upsilon$ (l. $-\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$) $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\text{k}\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\text{A}\lambda\theta$ (ai) $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$. See **5109** 7–8 n.

3] $\rho\eta\varsigma$. One possibility would be $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\text{K}\acute{\omicron}$] $\rho\eta\varsigma$, perhaps preceded by the name of another deity or deities. For the cult of Kore, see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* (1974–7) 588–9. See also P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (1972) 198–200, and J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5 (1995) 3074, for the cult of Kore in Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus respectively.

$\text{i}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron$ [$\ddot{\upsilon}$] (?). $\text{i}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron$ [$\acute{\iota}$] ς may also be considered; cf. next line.

$\text{t}\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\upsilon$. XLIII **3094** 43 (217/18) attests $\text{t}\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\text{i}$ operating in the Oxyrhynchite Sarapeum, in the shrine of the god and under the gateway of the Sarapeum by the great image. A $\text{t}\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\varsigma$ is mentioned in T. Mom. Louvre 139 A 1 (II/III). His task in a temple was probably to distribute *thalloi*, that is, branches, to visitors; see **3094** 40 n., and P. Nautin, *REG* 90 (1977) xii. Cf. also

O. Lund. 13; *Philogelos* 76. The status of *θαλλοδόται* in the hierarchy of the temple is not known. To judge from lines 3 and 12 and their contrast to the *ιδιώτης* (14, 17, 19) and to *pastophoroi* (9, 10, 18), they are probably not *ἱερεῖς* but *ἱερωμένοι*, that is, the second group of temple-attendants, of lower rank than *pastophoroi*; see H. B. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* (1976) 4–5.

ἀρχιβοθυνιστοῦ. This compound is attested here for the first time. Nothing is known of the group of *βοθυνισταί* or of their chief in an Egyptian temple. *βοθυνισμός*, ‘ditch-digging’, is mentioned in BGU XVI 2643.23 (Heracl.; 9/8 BC). *βόθυνος*, ‘hole, trench, pit’, is supplied in P. Hal. 1.97 (Apolonopolite; III BC), and attested in BGU IV 1122.17 (Alexandria; 13 BC), P. Merton I 27.12 (Oxy.; II/III; see BL VIII 207), and P. Prag. 1 23.15 (Ars.; 195). *βόθυνοι* (or *βόθροι*) were commonly used in sacrifice: see e.g. F. Robert, *Thymélé* (1939) 159–85; T. Mavrojannis, *Ostraka* 3 (1994) 298 n. 39.

4 An obvious restoration is *ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἱεροῖς*, although this would imply that at least two temples have already been mentioned and it is not easy to see how they could be fitted in (possibly at the beginnings of lines 3 and 4). Also in 12 the petitioners describe themselves as *βωμοφύλακες* . . . *τοῦ ἱεροῦ* in the singular.

τῷ Μεγάλῳ Σαραπίῳ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως. This is most probably the Great Sarapeum in Alexandria, in which case the next line would begin with [*τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων*. To Alexandria also point the origins of one of the petitioners or of his father (2, *Κωσικοσμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλλ(αι)έως*). On the main Alexandrian temple of Sarapis, situated on the Rhacotis Hill, see A. Calderini, *Diz. geogr.* i 140–46, and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 267–71, ii 83–91 (nn. 190–91). The attribute *Μεγάλῳ* may distinguish it from other temples of Sarapis in the city. In the papyri, the epithet *Μέγα* is found with the Sarapeum in Alexandria (VII 1070 7 (III); XLIX 3463 8 (58)), the one in Hermopolis (P. Brem. 46.8 (110)), and that in Memphis.

5 For *δέησιν* *προσφέρομεν* see SB XVI 12814.5 and P. Gen. I² 16.10; cf. also P. Diog. 18.6 and XVII 2133 3. In all cases the phrase comes at the start of the petition proper, as here. *ἀναγκαίως* may have preceded; cf. P. Leit. 10.8.

ἐπιτρόπων μέγιστε seems elsewhere always to be used of an epistrategus, but this can hardly be the case here: the title of epistrategi never ends as in line 1 with *τοῦ κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ* (or the plural). There seems no reason why this form of address should not be used of any procurator. Indeed, in SB XVIII 13730.21 (190; see BL XII 222), also a petition from a priest to a procurator, the procurator is addressed as *ἐπίτροπε μέγισται* (l. -ε). The procurator’s title is lost, but both the Idios Logos and a High Priest are mentioned, and there is no likelihood that the epistrategus is meant.

πάνκαλον, l. *πάγκαλον*. This is a rare word in the papyri, otherwise attested only in PSI XIV 1403.7 (II BC) and (outside Egypt) P. Euphrat. 17.3, 10 (mid III). It probably qualifies *δέησιν*; for a similar postponement of the modifier of *δέησιν*, cf. e.g. P. Gen. I² 16.10–11 *δέησιν σοι προσφέρομεν, κύριε, χρήζουσαν τῆς εἰς ἐκδι[κ]ί[α]ς*. The sense may be similar to XVII 2133 3 *δέησιν δικαιοσύνην*.

6] *κριτῶν* [*εὐτυ*] *χεστάτων Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας*. *κριτῶν* seems inescapable, but the grammar causes difficulty. *Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία* is likely to be a Greek rendering of *imperium Romanum* (see LSJ s.v. *ἡγεμονία* II.B; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (1974) 51, 145), and this is further suggested by [*εὐτυ*] *χεστάτων*, given the connection of the notion of *felicitas* to *imperium* (see E. Wistrand, *Felicitas imperatoria* (1987) passim). If this holds, the reference would be to ‘judges of the *imperium* of the most blessed Romans’, but in that case we would need *τῆς τῶν* before [*εὐτυ*] *χεστάτων*. On the other hand, if *ἡγεμονία* simply means ‘authority’, here of the judges, we should reckon with a phrase such as *τῆς τῶν* *κριτῶν* (*τῶν*) [*εὐτυ*] *χεστάτων κτλ.*, with the omission of *τῶν* being due to haplography.

7] . . .] *ρησον*. *συνηρησον* is tempting; cf. 6.

τὸ παλαιὸν ἡμῶν ἔθος. There was probably no judicial precedent for the practice of this custom. On the use of *ἔθος* in the context of religion and cult, see H. D. Schmitz, *Τὸ ἔθος und verwandte Begriffe in den Papyri* (1970) 78–83.

8 *ἐν τῇ* [*ε.8*] *μῶν*. Possibly *ἐν τῇ* [*διαγνώσει ἡ*] *μῶν*.

ἐν τῇ Ὀξυρυγγειῶν π[ό]λει. This collocation, whose earliest attestation dates from 155, provides an approximate *terminus post quem* for the petition; see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 279–81.

After π[ό]λει it is possible to read τῶ ιζ or τῶι ζ, but the former is preferable since there is no other instance of iota adscript in the text. The year cannot be determined. As the reference is to a previous hearing there is no necessity for the year to belong to the reign of a single emperor (as the present petition must do because of *Κεβραστροῦ* in line 1). Indeed, it need not be a year of the current emperor; line 9 may have begun, for example, with *θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ*. Any emperor between Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus would suit the palaeography.

9 *παστοφόρων*. Cf. 10, 18, 22. On *παστοφόροι* see W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* i (1905) 94–8; J. A. S. Evans, *JCS* 17 (1961) 192–5; Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren*; A. Passoni dell'Acqua, *Aegyptus* 61 (1981) 175–80; CPR XIII pp. 134–42. They were non-priest attendants of the shrine, and took their name from their main duty, that of carrying the *παστός*, the shrine or boat of the god, in the processions. The Gnomon of the Idios Logos allowed them to engage in private business (§83), on condition that they did not desert their duties in the temple (§75; also P. Fouad 10.3–7 (120)); see Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren* 27–8. Private business could actually lie in the background of our petition. PSI X 1149 (Tebtunis; 1 AD), to be used in the revision by G. Bastianini, *Studi A. Biscardi* iii (1982) 479–88, text = SB XVI 12531, preserves information on the competence of *παστοφόροι*, mentioning the *Κεμουθι*, which it equates with the *ἱερατικός νόμος* (line 10). See further the passage quoted in 14 n. below.

10 It is not clear whether this line describes the *παλαιὸν ἔθος* (cf. 7) or the procurator's decision in his previous dealing with this dispute, which may or may not have respected the old tradition in the temple.

11 *βωμοφύλακες*. For this word, cf. I. Eph. IV 1387.14–15 *περὶ τῆς βωμοφυλακίας [τῆς ἀρχηγέτιδος Ἄρτέ]μιδος* (39/38 BC: see for the date W. Leschhorn, *Antike Ären* (1993) 221–2). Line 12 perhaps suggests that they are of lower rank than *θαλλοδοῦται*, for they are eager to emphasize that they are not only *βωμοφύλακες*, but also *θαλλοδοῦται*. The same line also indicates that people could perform duties of different nature and possibly status within an Egyptian temple. Guards with different duties are well attested as operating in temple precincts, among them those who protected the cult-statue; see M. C. J. Miller, *Pap. Congr. XVIII* (1988) 223–6. On security in temples, see also J.-J. Aubert, *BASP* 28 (1991) 113–18.

τὰ ἱερά σου γράμματα. This no doubt refers to a ruling given by the procurator and recorded in his *ὑπομνήματα* mentioned in 9. The use of *ἱερός* of a decision by a mere procurator is noteworthy; elsewhere it is confined almost exclusively (apart from the emperor) to the prefect or the *iuridicus*, but it is applied to a *subscriptio* of an epistrategus in SB XIV 12087.3 (162).

13 At the beginning of the line it is tempting to supply *τοῦ Καραπέιου τῆ]ς πόλεως*, perhaps with the addition of the attributes *Μεγάλου* and *λαμπροτάτης*.

14 *ιδιώτης*. Cf. 17, 19. In the setting of an Egyptian temple, an *ιδιώτης* is defined as a layman, a non-priest (*WB* s.v. 4). In SB XVI 12531.1–4 (see above, 9 n.) Bastianini reads/restores *ἐν αὐτῶι τῶι ἱερώι ιδιώτας γεί[νε]σθαι(?) βυρσοῦργους τε καὶ ἀρτοκόπους καὶ ἔτερα ἔῃδη [τιν]ὰ καὶ γυναικῶν τούτων δὲ τὴν παραφυλακὴν [ἐφ]ιέναι(?) πρὸς ἑαυτούς*, translating 'nel tempio stesso tessitori de bisso e fornai e alcune altre categorie, anche di donne, siano(?) laici; il controllo di costoro, (i pastofori) lo assumano(?) su di sé'. This seems to indicate that *ιδιώται* refers to people with no religious functions working (and living?) in temples. Cf. also the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §96 *ἱερατικὴ τάξις] ὑπὸ ιδιωτῶν οὐκ ἐπ[ικρα]τίζεται*. They should be among those described as 'Laien oder dritte Gruppe in den Tempeln' by Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren* 5–6. Another possibility is that the *ιδιώτης* is a worshipper who visits the temple and buys *θαλλοί* from the *θαλλοδοῦται* as part of the ritual of the cult.

θαλλοδοτεῖται. The verb is probably passive, and *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ* appears to be used instead of *ὑπ' ἐμοῦ*. This may suggest that the *θαλλοδοῦται* leased their 'office' to an *ιδιώτης*, and the latter had to

give them part of the earnings (is this the *διάδομα* in 16?) obtained by selling the *θαλλοί* to the visitors of the temple.

ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Cf. *κοι* in 15 and perhaps *με* in 22. Although the petitioners appear to be a group of temple people, one of them probably acted as their representative and submitted the petition.

16 *διάδομα*. The word is attested in papyri only in UPZ I 2.8 (163 BC), after BL VIII 499. The general meaning 'distribution of goods or money' (LSJ Rev. Suppl. s.v.) suits the present context (cf. 10), or better *διάδομα* could mean 'gift distributed', that is, the result of the distribution; cf. L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* (1945) 95.

δίδωσκιν. The subject is no doubt the *ιδιώτης*; cf. 17 ὁ *ιδιώτης* δέδωκεν.

17] χεῖ[ρα]ς ἢ[μ]ῶν was perhaps preceded by εἰς.

18] .c. Perhaps εἰς χεῖρ]α.

ἐν[ὸς ἐ]κᾶστου could refer to *παστοφόροι*.

18–19 λαμ-: no doubt λαμ|[βάνουσι.

19 αὐτῷ, αὐτῷ, or αὐτό. At the top of *υ* the wrongly marked diacresis has been deleted by the scribe.

20] .ων[. . .] ὑπομνημάτων:]τῶν [cῶν] ὑπομνημάτων (cf. 9)?

πολλάκις καλεῖ ἡμᾶς. The subject could be the *ιδιώτης* mentioned in the previous line. *πολλάκις* echoes that in line 14. Dr Chang suggests that there may be some sort of degrading verbal attack (e.g., 'you're only altar-guards!') at the beginning of 21.

21] . η οἱ *συνχωρηθέντες* (l. *συγ*-). The large gap before eta may suggest it is a word on its own: ἡ. οἱ *συνχωρηθέντες* probably reflects an official agreement that could be connected with the *ὑπομνήματα* in 9 and 20, and the *ἱερά γράμματα* in 11.

22 σ. .[. .]ε. . . The letter after sigma looks like epsilon corrected from pi or nu. The last letter could be sigma.

ἃ δεξω. δ' ἔξω or δ' ἔξω? We have also considered δε(ῖ)ξω, but think it less likely. For the first person singular, cf. 14 n.

23 διαλ]αβεῖν [c.7] ἵν' ὦ(μεν) βεβο[ηθ]ημένοι. Cf. XLIX 3467 16–18 διὸ ἀξιώ . . . διαλαβεῖν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ὡ[ς ἂν *κοι*] δόξη ἵν' ὦ βεβοηθημένοι. In the break we may consider restoring περὶ αὐτοῦ or perhaps κατ' αὐτοῦ, 'against him', as in II 285 20 (cf. SB X 10244.7).

ὦ(μεν). In view of *βεβο[ηθ]ημένοι*, perhaps we only have an accidental omission rather than another case of the singular being used instead of the plural (cf. 14 n.).

R. HATZILAMBROU

5112. LETTER OF AURELIUS ONETOR TO AURELIUS PHANIAS

19 2B.78/E(1–6)a

9.5 × 10.4 cm

212–246

An almost square piece of papyrus, with four vertical folds, containing a complete letter written along the fibres. The back contains an address and offset traces from the front on the opposite side from the address, made when the front rightmost third of the letter was folded inside and the leftmost third folded over it. The hand of the sender has distant kinship with the 'chancery style' and some pretension to elegance. The farewell formula, like the corrections of lines 11 and 15, is written in the same hand as the rest of the letter, but in a slightly more rapid ductus.

The prevalence of the *gentilicium* 'Aurelius' and the mention of *πράκτορες* (see 14 n.) point to a date within 212–46.

In a previous letter the addressee Aurelius Phantias had asked the sender Aurelius Onetor to buy or inquire about grass seed from the trader Diogenes; but the latter, replies Onetor, was not in town. Another person by the newly attested name of Sillarion, now sick and bedridden, had also been commissioned to buy seeds for Phantias. He sent someone or a letter to Onetor's(?) house concerning this matter only to find that Phantias had also just left town. The final sentence, added apparently as an afterthought, reveals that Onetor (and perhaps also Phantias) was having some trouble with tax collectors.

The double mention of Phantias' need for seeds (presumably for sowing) suggests that he was a landowner, while the epithet *ἀξιολογώτατος* indicates that he held a relatively high office (see 2 n.). He may be the Oxyrhynchite gymnasiarch and councillor of this name in SB XVI 12494.2–3 (222–35) and the signatory of the bank order SB X 10754 (Oxy.; III), which authorizes the payment of 40 drachmas to a sailor for the transportation of 600 artabas of wheat. The sender Aurelius Onetor is unattested in the published papyri and was probably a local agent for Phantias, perhaps based in a village of the nome.

Αὐρήλιος Ὀνήτωρ Αὐρηλίω Φανία
 τῷ ἀξιολογώτατῳ χαίρειν.
 εὐθέως λαβῶν σου τὰ γράμματα ἐγε-
 νόμην παρὰ Διογένην τὸν ἔμπορον
 5 τῶν χορτοσπέρμων καὶ ἔμαθον αὐτὸν
 μὴ ἐπιδημοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος.
 ἄμα δὲ τῷ σε ἀποδημῆσαι ἔπεμψαι εἰς
 οἶκον Cιλλαρίων ἐπιζητῶν σε ἔνεκα ὧν
 ἐπέτρεψας αὐτῷ ἀγοράσαι σοι σπερμάτων,
 10 ἀποτασσόμενος διὰ τὸ μέχρι τούτου
 ἐπὶ τῇ κλείνῃ [[γῆ]] ἔστιν. καὶ γενάμενος
 πρὸς αὐτὸν εὖρον αὐτὸν πάνυ νοσοῦν-
 τα. διὸ οὖν τὸ δοκοῦν σοι γράψον μοι ἵν' οὖ-
 τως ἐνθάδε πράξω. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πράκτορες
 15 πολλὰ ἡμεῖν παρε[[ε]]νόχλη[[θημεν]]σαν.
 ἔρρωσθαί [c]ε εὐχομαι κύριέ μου.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

\ /
 abraded traces of c.8 letters π(αρ') Ὀνήτωρος.
 / \

7 l. ἔπεμψε 11 l. κλίνη κ of και corr. from γε 13 ω' 15 l. post corr. ἡμῶν
παρηνώχλησαν (see note below)

'Aurelius Onetor to Aurelius Phantias, the most noteworthy, greetings. As soon as I received your letter I went to Diogenes, the trader of grass seed, and I learned that he is not in town at present. The moment you went out of town, Sillarion sent (someone or a letter) to the house, seeking you on account of the seeds you had commissioned him to buy for you, renouncing (this task) because he has been in bed up to now. And when I went to him, I found him very sick. Therefore write to me what you want done, so that I may act accordingly here. Also, the tax collectors have given us much trouble. I pray for your health, my lord.'

Back: ' . . . ' (*design*) 'from Onetor.'

1 Ὀνήτωρ. This is a relatively uncommon name in Egypt, with most instances from the Ptolemaic era (cf. P. Heid. VI 378.14–15 n.). From the Roman period only three examples are known: P. Stras. VI 587.16 (?; II), I **114** 10 (II/III), SB XXIV 16000.694 (Panop.; after 298). The name is found in Homer (*Il.* 16.604, *Od.* 3.282) and was popular in Attica: 29 bearers in *LGPV* II 354 (Attica) as opposed to 5 (and 4 of Ὀνάτωρ) in *LGPVI* 351–2 (Aegean islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica), 2 in *LGPV* 347 (coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia), and none in the other volumes (Ὀνάτωρ once each in *LGPV* IIIa 343, IIIb 326).

Αὐρηλίωι Φανία. On the possible identity of Aurelius Phantias, see above, introd., and below, 2 n.

2 τῶι ἀξιολογωτάτῳ. For a discussion of this honorific epithet, see H. Geremek, *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 162–4. It was applied especially to magistrates and various municipal liturgists and their dependents in the third century. In the beginning it may have been connected specifically to magistrates of Alexandrian origin. The identification of Aurelius Phantias with the Oxyrhynchite gymnasiarch of that name in SB 12494.2–3 (P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (1986) no. 360) is supported by the association of the epithet with this office in XIV **1664** 13 (c.200; see BL III 139, cf. IV 62) and XXVII **2477** 2 (289; see BL V 82).

The number of instances of the epithet has increased since Geremek's discussion, which now requires some modifications and updates:

The earliest example is P. Warr. 14.2, a letter assigned to the second century on palaeographical grounds, in which the epithet applies to a priest rather than to an official as would be the case in the third century.

The latest certain papyrological occurrence of the title so far is from c.326 (LIV **3764** 18–19), of a prytanis. Its only other mention in the fourth century is in I **84** 11 (316), of a logistes. SB XVI 13081.A.ii.18, assigned to the late fifth or early sixth century, is doubtful with regard to the reading. Cf. also I. Philae II 225 (VI?) cited below.

For the title with *archidicastae*, add XXXIV **2705** 3 (225?), XLIII **3102** 10–11 (c.225/6; cf. **3099** i 6, ii 4), XLVII **3365** i 29 (241).

For the title with a centurion, add P. Harr. II 200.19 (236) (perhaps also applying to a decadarch in the same sentence).

Other officials or bodies not mentioned by Geremek: *nyctostrategi* (also ex-gymnasiarchs) in P. Oxy. Hels. 26.5 (296), a *πάνταρχος* (a person who exercised all the municipal offices) in SEG XXXVIII 1839.1 (Pelusium; c.150–300), a (nome) eirenarch in XXXI **2568** 2–3 (264), the 'archons and the *boule*' in Pap. Agon. 1.11 (273/4), 4.11 (264), 5.11 (late III), two councillors of Alexandria in XLVII **3287** 4 (238?), an ambassador (*πρεσβευτής*) of the Meroitic king in I. Philae II 181.1 (260), a *praefectus legionis* in I. Philae II 225.2 (VI?).

5 τῶν χορτοσπέρμων. For other mentions of the purchase of grass seed in letters, cf. e.g. SB XIV 12090.11–16 (II/III), XII **1578** 5 (220 or 224). III **533** (II/III) is a letter from a father asking his son among other things to sell the grass seed (7).

7–8 ἔπεμψαι (l. ἔπεμψε) εἰς οἶκον. For this ‘intransitive’ use of πέμπω (with implied object), see *WB* s.v. 2, *LSJ* s.v. 1.4.

8 *Κιλλαρίων*. A previously unattested formation; cf. *Κιλλαρος* in O. Max. inv. 920, 1138, 1193 (J.-L. Fournet in H. Cuvigny (ed.), *La Route de Myos Hormos* (2003) 458–9), BGU IX 1900.72, 128 (Ars.; c.196–8) and P. Amst. I 71.15 (?; II).

9 *σπερμάτων*. It is unclear whether these are grass seeds again or seeds of another kind or other kinds.

10 ἀποτασσόμενος. For the sense of this vcrb in the middle voice, see *WB* I s.v. 6 (‘verzichten’) and *LSJ* s.v. IV.

10–11 διὰ τὸ . . . ἐστίν. For this rare construction of διὰ τό as a conjunction followed by the indicative rather than the expected infinitive, see H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (1932) 52–3, and B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri* (1973) 341 (§845).

14 ἀλλὰ καί. For the purely progressive use of ἀλλά (sometimes reinforced by καί, as here), see J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (²1954) 21–2.

πράκτορες. It is unclear whether ἡμεῖν at 15 refers to both Onetor and Phantias or only to Onetor. The mention of πράκτορες suggests that 5112 dates from the first half of the third century before their (and the sitologi’s) replacement by δεκάπρωτοι between 242 and 246; see J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 111–19.

15 πολλὰ ἡμεῖν (l. ἡμῖν) παρε[[ε]]νόχλη[[θημεν]]σαν. The sender appears to have written first πολλὰ ἐνοχλήθημεν on a new line, but then decided to use the active voice and the more intensive compound παρενόχλησαν (l. παρηνώχλησαν), filling in the blank space at the end of 14 with the subject (ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πράκτορες) and adding in the interlinear space the dative object and a second prefix. For the wording, cf. VI 965 (III) πράκτορες[ι] *κυτικῶν Φιλονίκου· μὴ παρε[νο]χλήσητε Λουκίω*.

17 Before the saltire pattern one expects ἀπόδ(ος) Φανία *vel sim.*, but the traces are too abraded for confirmation.

A. BENAÏSSA

5113. LETTER OF DORION TO PHANIAS

19 2B.78/E(1–6)c

9 × 11.5 cm

Third century

A letter concerning the recipient’s health(?) (see 3–6 n.) and an unspecified misfortune from which Dorion was suffering. The opening conforms to a recognized progression: salutation (1–2) followed by transition to the body of the letter via a ‘joy-expression’ (3–6). This expression of joy at receiving good news takes a particularly interesting form, combined as it is with an expression of thanks to Polieus Sarapis. Sarapis as the protector of a city appears here for the first time in papyri and may point to Alexandria as the place where the letter was composed (see 5 n.). The letter is written in good, if not ambitious, Greek, which betrays a ‘man of letters’ (see 6–8 n., 8–9 n., 12 n.).

The letter is written on the back of a land survey, the latter written along the fibres in a small, fine hand of the late second century. There are faint traces, perhaps offset, in the left and right margins. There is no address on the back of the letter, but five vertical folds are visible, which would have resulted from the papyrus

being rolled up and crushed flat. Either the courier knew the address (cf. LIX 3990) or the papyrus was folded horizontally first, so that the top half became the inside of the roll subsequently formed (cf. LIX 3991); the latter would imply that at least half of the letter is lost. The hand may be compared to CPR I 32 (218), reproduced at Seider, *Paläographie* i 43, and PSI III 164 (287) at Pap. Flor. XII, tav. xxxi.

χαῖρε, τέκνον Φανία,
 π(αρά) Δωρίωνος.
 ἡδέως ἐπυθόμην ζωζόμενόν
 σε ἐπανεληλυθέναι καὶ χάριν
 5 ἔχω τῷ Πολιεῖ Σαράπιδι ὅτι ἔρρω-
 μένον ἀποκατέστησέ σε. πολλά
 με τὰ θορυβοῦντα ἦν, τέκνον
 Φανία, παρ' ἐμ[α]υτῷ ὥστε με
 μὴ ἀτρεμεῖν, ἄπερ οὐδὲ σὺ
 10 ἴσως ἀγνοεῖς· [.αι]] ἔϋχομαί δὲ
 πάντας ἡμᾶς κατὰ νοῦν πράτ-
 τε[ι]ν· ἴσως γὰρ ἀμείνον[ο]ς τύχη[ς]
 λαβόμενοι δ[υ]νηζόμεθα [.]]
 πάλιν π[ρ]άττειν ὡς βο[υ]λό[μ]εθα.
 15] . . [] . [] . []

2 π' 10, 12 ἴσως 14 πρατ'τειν

'Greetings, my child Phantias, from Dorion. I was pleased to learn that you have returned cured(?) and I give thanks to Policus Sarapis that he restored(?) you to health. Many were the things troubling me here, my child Phantias, so that I was not free from worry, of which perhaps you are not unaware either. But I pray that all of us may fare as we desire. For perhaps meeting better fortune we shall be able again to fare as we wish. . . .'

1-2 χαῖρε, τέκνον Φανία, π(αρά) Δωρίωνος. On this opening formula see P. Hamb. IV 256.1 n. The sender's name may be expressed in a prepositional clause as it is here, or, more often, incorporated into the next sentence. XIV 1667, another private letter written by a Dorion in the third century, begins χαῖρε, Ἀπίων τιμώτατε. Δωρίων σε προσαγορεύω.

Phantias and Dorion were both popular names in Egypt and at Oxyrhynchus. To judge from the direct tone of the letter and the address τέκνον, Phantias may be Dorion's son. See G. R. Stanton in *Pap. Congr. XVIII* i (1988) 480; E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (1996) 68-9.

3 ἡδέως ἐπυθόμην. The use of ἡδέως in the context of 'joy-expressions' (J. L. White, *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter* (1972) 39-40) is rare, attested otherwise only by P. Giss. 73 = P. Giss. Apoll. 38.3-4 (113-20) ἐκομιάμην σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡδέως καὶ περιμένω σε.

3-6 ζωζόμενόν σε ἐπανεληλυθέναι . . . ἔρρωμένον ἀποκατέστησέ σε. This may be no more than a reference to Phantias returning home safely from a trip (cf. Plb. 8.27.6 ἀποκατέστησαν αὐτὸν

εἰς οἶκον). It is tempting, however, to find a reference to a sojourn at a Serapeum, given the offering of thanks and the reputation of Sarapis as a god of healing (cf. e.g. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (1972) 257–8; J. E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (1972) 2, 48, 76; and generally R. A. Wild, in *ANRW* II 17.4 (1984) 1755–8). ἀποκαθίστημι is most often used of loan-repayments in papyri and seldom takes a personal object. At P. David 14.10–12 (II/III), it seems to mean a return to a former state, τοὺς συνήθεις αὐτῆ (sc. ἡ φιλία) ἀποκατέστησεν ὥστε φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων. Diodorus Siculus uses the word when he reports the belief of the Egyptians that Isis can restore sight to the blind, εἰς τὴν προὔπαρξασαν ἀποκαθίστασθαι (sc. the sick) τάξι (I.25.5). If this is the meaning here, σωζόμενον in 3 would be used in the specific sense of ‘saved from an illness’ (LSJ 1.1.a); cf. the earlier part of the same sentence in Diodorus, πολλοὺς μὲν . . . ὑπὸ ταύτης σώζεσθαι.

4–5 χάριν ἔχω τῷ Πολιεῖ Σαράπιδι ὅτι κτλ. Besides the many letters that mention acts of adoration (προσκύνημα) before Sarapis, there are also a few that express thanks to the god for deliverance in a particular situation, such as perils at sea, hard labour in the quarries, etc. (W. Chr. 480.6–8, P. Mich. VIII 465.13–17, 492.5–6, P. Harr. I 152.3–5).

5 τῷ Πολιεῖ Σαράπιδι. See Fraser, *Op. Ath.* 3 (1960) 19 n. 2, H. Henne in *Mélanges Maspero* ii (1937) 297–307, and J.-Y. Strasser, *BCH* 128/9 (2004/5) 450–52. Four inscriptions from Egypt attest Polieus Sarapis. (1) OGIS 708 = IGRR I 1102 = SB V 8912 of 181 (= E. Breccia, *Cat. gén. Mus. Alex.* no. 78), from Xoïs, dedication by an Alexandrian; (2) I. Portes 88 = SEG LV 1827 of 245(?), from Coptos, dedication by a *bouleutes* and former hypogymnasiarch and *hellenodikes*; (3) I. Portes 89 of 200–250, also from Coptos, dedication by a former gymnasiarch and ex-*hypomnematographos*; (4) I. Th. Sy. 195 = SEG XXXIX 1675 of 212–50, from Kom Ombo, dedication by the wife of a centurion of *legio II Traiana fortis*, which was based in Nicopolis outside Alexandria. The dedication to Polieus Sarapis in two of these inscriptions (1, 4) has clear connections with Alexandria. In the remaining two cases, the offices held by the dedicants point to Alexandria as their place of origin (cf. Henne, loc. cit., and J. Whitehorne, *Aegyptus* 67 (1987) 101–14). It is certainly possible that Polieus Sarapis appears in these two dedications as the protector of Coptus (I. Portes 88.1 n.), but the god is most closely associated with Alexandria, the Greek city par excellence; cf. the emperor Julian in his letter to the Alexandrians: ὑπάρχοντος δὲ ὑμῖν πολιούχου θεοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαράπιδος (*Ep.* 111). Diocletian is called πολιούχος Ἀλεξανδρείας on the statue of the Emperor dedicated in 298 (F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines d’Alexandrie impériale* no. 15; SEG XLVII 2087). The epithet is not attested for other gods (or men) in Egypt. (πολιεύς was a demotic in Antinoopolis, presumably chosen for its association with Zeus; see P. Diog. 3.9, 4.8, P. Fam. Tebt. 32.7.) Here, the mention of Polieus Sarapis may indicate that Dorion was writing from Alexandria, or, if the god restored Phantias not only to his home but also to health, that Phantias had visited the Serapeum in Alexandria.

6–8 πολλά με τὰ θορυβοῦντα ἦν, τέκνον Φανία. Dr Chang points out that this phrase is reminiscent of the opening of [Dem.] 59, πολλά με τὰ παρακαλοῦντα ἦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γράψασθαι Νέαιραν τὴν γραφὴν ταυτηνί. This same opening was the model of Bas. *leg. lib. gent.* 1.1–2 πολλά με τὰ παρακαλοῦντά ἐστι ξυμβουλευσαι ὑμῖν (see N. G. Wilson, *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature* (1975) p. 37) and may have inspired the openings of Lib. *Ep.* 1235 πολλά με τὰ πείθοντά ἐστι τὸν γενναῖον αἰδεῖσθαι Πετρόνιον and *Ep.* 1383 πολλά με τὰ πεποιηκότα φίλον Σενήρω.

A similar expression is found in another letter, P. David 14.23–5: ἐγενόμην γὰρ ἐν [θορύ]βοις πολλοῖς οὐκ οὐκ ἂν σοι [τ]ολμήσαιμι ἀδεῶς λέγειν.

8 I have translated παρ’ ἐμ[α]υτῷ as ‘here’, but ‘in myself’ may be closer to the intended meaning; see Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.2 488.

8–9 ὥστε . . . ἀτρεμεῖν. According to B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §772, ὥστε with the infinitive to express result is well-attested in Ptolemaic papyri, but ‘considerably more rare’ thereafter.

ἀτρεμεῖν, an Ionic word, does not seem to occur elsewhere in papyri, which appear to attest the equivalent ἡρεμεῖν three times.

11 κατὰ νοῦν. This expression occurs frequently in letters from the Zenon archive (e.g. P. Cair. Zen. II 59148.1 εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀπαλλάσσεις κατὰ νοῦν, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι), but more rarely elsewhere; e.g. XIV 1665 26–7 (III) ἐρρωθεαί σε εὐχομαι κατὰ νοῦ(ν) διάγοντα. Cf. also the expression κατὰ νοῦν ἔχειν in P. Tebt. II 334.9 (200/201) and P. Fouad 86.17 (VI). Outside the papyri, the combination with πράττειν found here is not uncommon, in letters (e.g. Lib. Ep. 418) and elsewhere (e.g. Men. fr. 845.7 KA).

11–12 πράττειν[ε]. Cf. 14. I translate ‘fare’ rather than ‘act’, without wishing to exclude the latter.

12 ἀμείνον[ο]ς τύχη[ε]. This is a collocation attested first in Plato, e.g., *Laws* 856c τύχη ἀμείνονι. In papyri one often finds the dative expression ἀγαθῇ τύχη, but the comparative does not seem to occur in this phrase.

12–13 ἀμείνον[ο]ς τύχη[ε] λαβόμενοι. Cf. D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 3.12.3 ἔάν τε τῆς κρείττονος λάβωνται τύχης ἔάν τε τῆς χείρονος.

J. YUAN

5114. IMPERIAL CONSTITUTION

31 4B.11/E(1–3)a

17 × 10 cm

After 217
Plate VII

The front preserves the beginning of a report of deliveries of wheat received by the sitologi of Psobthis, and is published as **5110**. The year 29 mentioned therein must refer to the reign of Commodus, i.e., 188/9. **5114** is the text on the back. Lines 1–5, or more probably 6, are a copy, in a rather crude and untidy hand, which someone made (or had made) of a Severan *constitutio* (διάταξις, line 1). There are a number of ink-blots and corrections. There is a blank space of 2.5 cm below line 10, as though the scribe gave up at that point, perhaps because he had made too many mistakes.

This *constitutio* is in the form of a rescript addressed to a certain Apollonius and concerns the interval of relief (ἀνάπαυσις) to be allowed between successive assignments to ἀρχαί. The interval is specified as five years (4). The little hitherto known on this subject is summarized in Naphtali Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (Pap. Flor. XXVIII: ²1997) 94–5; see also the introductions to P. Leit. 7 and 8. The *constitutio* is not among those examined in Jean-Pierre Coriat, *Le Prince législateur: La Technique législative des Sévères* (1997), and is apparently otherwise unknown. Note, however, the *constitutio* recorded in *CJ* 10.41.1: *Impp. Severus et Antoninus A.A. Septimio Zenoni. Sicut honores et munera, cum pater et filius decuriones sunt, in eadem domo continuari non oportet, ita vacationum concessa tempora non aliis prodesse possunt, quam qui ad eosdem vel alios honores eademque vel alia munera denuo vocantur*; see also the rescript reported in Paul. *Dig.* 50.1.18: *Divus Severus rescripsit intervalla temporum in continuandis oneribus (honoribus? edd.) invitis, non etiam volentibus concessa, dum ne quis continuet honorem*. The interval of five years for *vacatio* between *honores* occurs in a rescript of Gordian, recorded in *CJ* 10.41.2: *Imp. Gordianus A. Cyrillo. Ab honoribus ad eosdem honores quinquennii datur vacatio, triennii vero ad alios*.

The nature of lines 6 ff. is less clear. Line 6 is most likely to contain the conclusion of the rescript in 1–5 (followed by a *vacat*). Alternatively it may have a phrase such as ἄλλη τῶν αὐτῶν, with the name of the addressee of a second rescript at the start of line 7; cf. LX 4068 12. In any case it may well be that line 7 begins a second rescript, even though line 1 uses διάταξις in the singular. In 10 we appear to have a reference to a trial before the prefect Maecius Laetus. Such a reference would not have been contained in an imperial rescript; therefore, if we have a second rescript beginning in 7, it no doubt ended in 9 where there is a *vacat* at the right. This could then have been followed by a prefectorial pronouncement. In that case all three items may have been quoted as precedents at the start of a petition; for such a format cf., e.g., LXXIII 4961. However that may be, lines 7–8 mention a three-year term and the office of ambassador, and there is a striking similarity to the rescript of Gordian quoted above, which continues: *legatione autem perfunctis biennii vacatio concessa est*. It seems plausible to suggest that Gordian may have been amending a Severan *constitutio*, in particular by reducing the length of *vacatio* for those who had served on an embassy from three years to two.

I have had the benefit of being able to use earlier work on this text by John Shelton and Naphtali Lewis.

θεία διάταξις θεῶν Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου.

Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ὠρίωνος . . . () περὶ χρόνων ἀναπαύσεως.

ἔδοξεν, ὁπόταν{αν} τις εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν κα-
λῆται, εἰς παρά[[δ' . . .]]δειγμα παράστημα (πεντα)⟨ε⟩τίας προσ

5 c.10 πλη]ρωθείσης ἀρχῆς αὐτίς ἐνχειρικθείσης
] *vac.*

c.13] . . . [c.6] ἐντὸς (τρι)⟨ε⟩τίας ἀνα . . . α

c.20]. πρεσβείας [[π]] μέντοιγε συντε . .

c.20] c . . συν[. . .] ρη . η *vac.*

10 c.20] ἡματι Μαικίου Λαίτου ἐπὶ τοῦ θ (ἔτους)

1 ἀντωνινου: ω corr. from ο 2 . . (): see n. 4 ἔτιας 5 l. ἐχειρικθείσης
7 ᾧτιας 10 θς

(1–5) ‘Imperial constitution of Divi Severus and Antoninus.

‘To Apollonius, son of Horion, . . .

‘Concerning periods of relief [from magistracies].

‘It was resolved, whenever anyone is summoned to the same magistracy or to another magistracy, to prescribe(?) as a guide a *vacatio*(?) of 5 years . . . having been completed, a magistracy having been entrusted again . . .’

2 After Ὠρίωνος there are two long descenders before *περί*, the second perhaps with a stroke through it to indicate abbreviation; the tops of the letters are lost. If the first is taken as rho one thinks of ῥή(τορι) or ῥή[τ]ορι, but neither abbreviation is likely nor an easy reading. If the second is taken as rho an attractive reading, in view of line 8, would be πρ(εβευτῆ), but the first letter cannot be pi. If

we take it as either gamma or tau, i.c., γρ(αμματεῖ) or τρ(απεζίτη), it would have to have had a much longer descender than elsewhere. Nor does it seem possible to make Apollonius a gymnasiarch or ex-gymnasiarch or to read ἄρξ(αντι).

3 ὀπόταν{αν}. It seems that the scribe first wrote οπαν before correcting to ὀπόταν by squeezing in omicron after the pi; he then added ταν over the line but does not seem to have deleted αν on the line below it.

3-4 καλήται. An unusual word in papyri for appointing someone to an office. It is found in SB V 7696.34 (of ἀρχαι) and LXVII 4593 19 (of a *munus*). It may well be used here to translate a Latin original: note the use of *vocantur* in the first rescript quoted in the introduction.

4 παράδειγμα can be used of a legal precedent (see LSJ s.v. 15); here it is perhaps better understood as used of an example, by way of a guide. εἰς παράδειγμα might well translate Latin *ad exemplum*.

παράστημα. There is little doubt about the reading, but the noun is unattested in the papyrological sources and the meanings offered for it in LSJ do not suit here. We surely need a word meaning much the same as ἀνάπαυσις in line 2. διάστημα 'interval' would make sense, as in P. Giss. 40 ii 4, where Caracalla says μετὰ τὸ πληρωθῆναι τὸ τοῦ χρόνου διάστημα (cf. XXXVI 2755 4-5); but it is not easy to justify παράστημα as a synonym for διάστημα, unless we think that it is a corruption of διάστημα, due to the influence of the preceding παράδειγμα. It is probable that we have a Greek equivalent of the Latin word used in the original *constitutio*. CGL III 154 has at line 11 *paristemi persequor* and at 12 *paradioco interpono*, but it is plausibly suggested in the Latin index (followed by LSJ s.v. παραδιώκω) that the Latin equivalents are to be transposed. The resulting *paristemi interpono* would suit admirably here, with the noun meaning, say, 'intermission' and so being roughly equivalent to ἀνάπαυσις.

(πεντα)⟨ε⟩τίας. The same period is specified in the Severan rescript quoted in the introduction.

4-5 ἔδοξεν in 3 requires an infinitive to follow. This may be a compound with *προς* at the end of 4, e.g., *προστάξει*, 'it was resolved to appoint/decreed . . .', or *προσῆκειν*, 'it was resolved that a *vacatio* of 5 years was appropriate'. Another possibility is *προς*[λαβεῖν, understanding *τις* as the subject: 'it was resolved that he should take a *vacatio* of 5 years'. But the construction may have been different. In any case it seems necessary to suppose that the rescript concluded in the lost part of line 6.

5 πλη]ρωθείσης is easily the most likely supplement, possibly, not necessarily, compounded with ἀνα- or ἀπο-. Both ἀναπληρώω and ἀποπληρώω were technical terms in the language of public service, the latter compound appearing slightly more often at the time when this text was written; cf. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*² 58-9. If an infinitive intervened between *πενταετίας* and *πληρωθείσης* (cf. above), the participle is much more likely to have agreed with ἀρχῆς than with *πενταετίας*, despite what is suggested by, e.g., P. Flor. I 1.13-14 *πληρωθείσης τῆς διετίας*; and also perhaps P. Giss. 58 ii 17, regarding liturgists *πληροῦντες τ[ὸ]ν τριετίας [χρόν]ον*. If it did agree with *πενταετίας* we probably would have to supply ταύτης (δέ) before it or perhaps just ἦς.

αὐτίς. A rare spelling in papyri instead of the usual αὐθίς. Note the use of *denuo* in the rescript of Gordian quoted in the introduction. It would be easy to correct to αὐτ(ο)ίς, but no correction is necessary.

7 ff. See on these lines the introduction above.

7 For ἐντὸς τριετίας see P. Leit. 8.12 = P. Harrauer 35.48 ἐντὸ[ς τ]ῆς τριετίας τῶν νόμων. It is of course possible that ἐντὸς is the end of a longer word.

ἀνα . . . ἀ. ἀνάλωμα may be possible, although mu is not easy.

8 μεν over the line (in a second hand?) is clear, but the supposed deleted pi is more problematical. It could be read as alpha with a curved abbreviation mark, i.e., ἀπ(), though it is not clear how this would fit the context. Latin equivalents attested in CGL for μέντοιγε, if the reading is right, are *quoque* and *sane*.

8-9 I am indebted to Dr Ruey-Lin Chang for an attractive suggestion for the way to understand these lines. He suggests reading/restoring *πρεσβείας* [[π]] μέντοιγε συντετε[[λεκοί (διε)τίας

ἀνάπαν]εἰς συν[εχ]ωρήθη. What is written in 8 after συντε is unclear, but the slight traces would permit τε. The start of 9 is also difficult, as there appears to be an eta after the initial sigma; it seems possible that this has subsequently been corrected to iota and that it is possible to read]εἰς. ἀνάπαν]εἰς συν[εχ]ωρήθη would fit the context well (although it is not easy to read the penultimate trace as part of theta). The whole is very close to the wording of the Gordian rescript quoted in the introduction: *legatione autem perfunctis biennii vacatio concessa est*. Gordian seems likely to have been reinforcing (or emending) an earlier rescript; and it is not of course necessary for the Severan rescript to have specified a period of two years. For *πρεσβείας συντελείν* Dr Chang refers to SEG XXIX 127 = James H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* 184.2.47–8 (174/5): ἡ διὰ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀξίως[ε] ἦν πα]ρ' ἐμο[ι] συντελεί (for the text see SEG XLI 68).

10 At the start presumably β]ήματι or ὑπομν]ήματι. The latter would no doubt refer to a minute of Laetus. In this sense the word is usually plural, but not always; cf. *WB* s.v. 2. esp. (c). In PSI III 232, for example, we have a ὑπόμνημα of the *διοικητες*, and in SPP XX 64 one is issued by an imperial procurator. Something like ἀκολουθῶς τῷ (γενομένῳ) ὑπομν]ήματι would be a possible supplement. With β]ήματι we might have ἐπὶ/πρὸς τῷ to precede and again perhaps a reference to a decision by the prefect.

Q. Maecius Laetus was prefect in 200–203; the ninth year corresponds to 201/2.

J. DAVID THOMAS

5115. APPLICATION TO AN ARCHIDIKASTES

38 3B.81/H(1–3)b

7.3 × 7.6 cm

Mid third century

This fragment preserves the upper right-hand corner of an application to an *archidikastes* for the registration of a private deed (*δημοσίωσις*) in the Library of Hadrian and the Nanaeum, so that its terms would be publicly enforceable; cf. XII 1561 (see *JJP* 39 (2009) 23–9), P. Lips. I 10, PSI XII 1238, SB I 5692, XXII 15383. The principal interest of the fragment resides in the word *βοαγός*, not previously encountered in papyri: see 6 n.

The name of the applicant is lost, but it would seem that he/she submits the application through Aurelius Septimius Serenus, *ex-exegetes* and *ex-ptyanis* of Oxyrhynchus, and/or is related to him (see 8 n.). As already noted by H. M. Cockle, *JRS* 71 (1981) 92, Serenus was a member of an affluent family of Oxyrhynchite notables with substantial landholdings. The family is in evidence over a period of at least two generations, with Serenus' *floruit* coming very probably in the second quarter of the third century. For further references see 3 n.

The document to be registered appears to be a sale (cf. 10 n.). The back has traces of two lines of writing or offset, across the fibres.

c.25]ερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ
τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κ]ριτηρίων (vac.)
παρὰ c.20]. Αὐρηλίου Σεπτιμίου Σερήνου ἐξηγητεύσαντος καὶ
πρυτανεύσαντος τῆς Ὀξυρυγ]χειτῶν πόλεως. τῆς προειμένης μοι

5 δις(ῆς(?)) ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ α]ϋτῆν ὑπογραφῆς ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται.
c.25]ς ἔναρχος βοαγὸς βουλευτῆς τῆς Ὁξυρυγ-
χιτῶν πόλεως υἱὸς c.8] Διογένους κοσμητεύσαντος τῆς αὐτῆς
πόλεως c.20]. Αὐρηλίου [C]ε[πτι]μίου Cερῆν[ου ἐξῆ]γγη-
τεύσαντος καὶ πρυτανεύσαντος τῆς αὐτῆς [c πόλεω]ς χαίρειν. [όμολο]γῶ
10 c.20 ἀπὸ το]ῦ νῦν εἰς [τὸν ἀεὶ χρ]όνον τα. [c.6]υ
c.23].ιωπ[. .].[c.7].[. .].[. .].[

1 ἐπιμελεια: some correction on the second epsilon 4 1. Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν 5 υποκειται/
6 οξυρυγ'

'To . . . priest, *archidikastes* and superintendent of the *chrematistae* and the other courts, from . . . Aurelius Septimius Serenus, *ex-exegetes* and *ex-prytanis* of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. Appended below is a copy of the bond issued to me in duplicate(?) and of the *subscriptio* beneath it.

' . . . *boagos* in office, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, son of . . . Diogenes, *ex-kosmetes* of the same city to . . . Aurelius Septimius Serenus, *ex-exegetes* and *ex-prytanis* of the same city, greetings. I acknowledge . . . from the present for all time . . .'

3]. Αὐρηλίου Ἐπτιμίου Cερῆνου. It is not clear why Aurelius Septimius Serenus is mentioned here. What precedes it could be *θυγατρός*]; see 8 n. For this person see P. Hamb. IV p. 258 (no. 267), and above, introd. This is the sixth text from Oxyrhynchus in which he has occurred, the others being L **3596** 1-2 (between 219 and 255), XLVII **3365** 4-5, 10-11 (241), XXXVIII **2854** 5-6 (248), LXIV **4439** 4-6 (258/9) and LI **3612** 1-3 (271-5). In **3365** of 241 he was still alive, but in all the other texts he is only named as the father of another individual. We know of a daughter, Aurelia Apia, and a son, Septimius Eudaemon; see Cockle, *JRS* 71 (1981) 92 (the texts there referred to have been published as L **3596** and **3597**). Eudaemon has since been attested in **3612** and **4439**; he may occur also in LVIII **3925** 4-5 (c.245/6), and in XIV **1649** 19 (275/6), as the father of a certain Isidora.

5 The restorations are based on XII **1474** 10 (216); cf. P. Lips. I 10 = M. *Chr.* 189.i.5 (240). Before ἀσφαλείας, either δις(ῆς) (cf. SB I 5692.5 (c.216); see SB II p. 463); XII **1474** 10; PSI XII 1238.3 (244); IX **1200** 12 (271; see BL IX 147)) or τρις(ῆς) (P. Lips. I 10 = M. *Chr.* 189.4) is possible.

6 βοαγός. The term denotes the appointee to the office called *βοαγεία*, thus far known to us only from its mention in L **3565** 3-4 (245), where a certain Aurelius Anicetus is described as ἄρχαντος βοαγείαν βουλ(ευτοῦ) of Oxyrhynchus. Similarly in the present fragment the holder of the office was a member of the *boule* of Oxyrhynchus. The office, this tells us clearly, was not that of an ox-herd to drive the animals, but one that required men of standing and some affluence to organize the collection of the animals and supervise their transportation to where they were wanted. For ἄρχοντες in charge of the delivery of calves to Alexandria, see XLIII **3090** (216); note also LI **3612** (271-5), where Septimius Eudaemon, an *ex-cosmetes* of Alexandria (for whom see above, 3 n.), is appointed by the prefect as embolarch with orders to supervise τὰ δημόσια κτήνη used for grain transport. For the similar recruitment of εὐσχήμονες to organize and supervise the movement of camels for military service, see N. Lewis, *BASP* 30 (1993) 110-11, and *BASP* 33 (1996) 61-2.

7 In X **1284** (250) a Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, son of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, κοσμησαντος καὶ ἀγνωσθησαντος of Oxyrhynchus, pays a sales tax; either the father or the son could be the man here, supplying Κλαυδίου after υἱός. Indeed, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Διογένης]ς is the right length to fill the lacuna in 6. But if the son was given his full name, one might expect the father also to be given

his full name, as in **1284**, and there is no room for *Τιβερίου* as well as *Κλαυδίου* in 7. Alternatively, we know of an Aurelius Diogenes ἀπ[ὸ] κε(κοσμητευκότων) at Oxyrhynchus in XLIII **3090** 3 (216), and *Αὐρηλίου* would neatly fill the lacuna in line 7.

8 The letter before *Αὐρηλίου* looks very much like sigma, which suggests *διὰ τοῦ πατρός*ε/ *ἀνδρός*ε or *μετὰ συνεστῶτος*ε (not *διά*, *δι*' or *θυγατρ*ε). We know from L **3596** that Serenus had a daughter Aurelia Apia, and there may be just enough room for *Αὐρηλία Ἀπία* *διὰ τοῦ πατρός*ε here, and for *Αὐρηλίας Ἀπίας* *θυγατρός*ε in 3 (*διὰ τοῦ πατρός*ε might be too long for the gap).

10 *πεπρακέναι σοι* would be too short for the gap and *πεπρακέναι καὶ παρακεχωρηκέναι* too long. In any case the wording implies that the contract was a sale.

After *τά* there is a trace that suits the tip of upsilon; but we cannot read *τὰ ὑ[πάρχοντα]* because of upsilon at the end of the line; and this trace rules out *τὰς ὑ[παρχο]ύ[σας]*. It is also impossible to read *τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα*. We are left with *ὑ[πάρχ(οντά) σο]υ*, but abbreviation is not used in the text as preserved.

N. LEWIS / J. DAVID THOMAS

5116. APPLICATION TO NOTIFY THE REGISTRATION OF A CONTRACT

102/94(b)

14.2 × 7.5 cm

13 February 259

This document when complete will have contained an application by two persons to a strategus to communicate the public registration (*δημοσίωσις*) of a contract to the other party to the contract (*μετάδοσις*); on this type of document, see LXX **4772** introd., and *JJP* 39 (2009) 23 n. 1. What is preserved is the lower part of the document, which contains: the concluding parts of the original application for registration (addressed to an *archidikastes*) and of the request for notification, with the subscriptions of the applicants; the acknowledgement of receipt of a copy by the party on whom it had to be served; and the statement of the clerk that he had delivered it. Except for a marginal addition, the hand is the same throughout, which indicates that **5116** is a copy.

This document offers the earliest certain attestation of Saloninus, *nobilissimus* Caesar, which may now be placed in the period 26 May – 24 June 258; see below, 6–10 n.

The back is blank.

τε]λ[είοις, ἐὰν δὲ ἀφήλ]ι[κες ὧσι τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῶν ἐπιτρό-
ποις, ὧν τ[ὰ ὀνό]ματα ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων[ν δηλωθήσεται ὡς καθή-
κει. (ἔτους) ε/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριαν[[ῶν]] ὁῦ καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ
5 Σεβαστῶν, Φαρμουθι κᾶ. τούτου ὄ[ν]τος ἀξιούμεν τὴν μετά-
δοσιν γενέσθαι τῇ Αὐρηλία Ἰ[σ]ιδώρα τῇ καὶ Τσεναρτεμα ἐνώπιον
ὡς καθήκει. (ἔτους) ε/ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Πουπλίου
Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ
Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικῶν μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπλίου

Δικινίου Κορηλίου Καλωνίου Ουαλεριανού του ἐπιφαν[ε]τάτου
 10 Καίσαρος Σεβαστών, Παννι. (vac.) Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Παν-
 σανίας ἐπιδέδωκα. (vac.) Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος συνεπιδέδωκα.
 Αὐρηλία Ἰσιδώρα ἢ καὶ Τσεναρτεμα δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 Αὐρηλίου Ἡρακλείδου ἔσχον τούτου τὸ ἴσον. (ἔτους) 5//, Μεχειρ ιθ̄.
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ὑπηρέτης μετέδωκα τῇ Αὐρηλία Ἰσι-
 15 δώρα τῇ καὶ Τσεναρτεμα διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Αὐρηλίου Ἡρακλεί-
 δου τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὡς καθήκει. (ἔτους) 5//, Μεχειρ ιθ̄.

In the left-hand margin, downwards:

(m.2)] προκειμένοις

3, 6, 13 L

‘. . . to (her) adult (heirs) or, if they are minors, to their legal guardians, whose names will be ascertained on the spot, as is proper. Year 5 of our lords Valerianus and Gallienus Augusti, Pharmouthi 21. This being the case, we request that notice be served on Aurelia Isidora alias Tsenartema, in person, as is proper. Year 5 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Germanici maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinnius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus *nobilissimus* Caesar Augusti, Payni. I, Aurelius Sarapion alias Pausanias, have submitted (this). I, Aurelius Didymus, have jointly submitted (this). I, Aurelia Isidora alias Tsenartema through me, her husband, Aurelius Heraclides, received a copy of this. Year 6, Mecheir 19. I, Aurelius Ammonius, *hyperetes*, served the petition on Aurelia Isidora alias Tsenartema through her husband Aurelius Heraclides, as is proper. Year [6], Mecheir 19.’

(2nd hand) ‘. . . the aforestated (terms).’

2–3 [ὡς καθή]κει. Hunt has argued that this phrase is not part of the connecting sentence but is the endorsement made in the office of the *archidicastes* (‘let the proper steps be taken’), while the second ὡς καθήκει (here in line 6) was added in the office of the strategus; see XVII **2134** 41–3 n., and cf. X **1270** 54 n., XII **1473** 42 n. However, the same phrase ends the subscription of the *hyperetes* (16), which seems to suggest that it was a formulaic close of a sentence.

4 Year 5, Pharmouthi 21 = 16 April 258. There is no reference to a Caesar, which must be due to the fact that the shorter form of the regnal clause is used; cf. SB XXIV 16265.32.

4–5 μετὰδοσιν. On this procedure see A. Benaissa, *JJP* 37 (2007) 16–17, with references.

5 Αὐρηλία Ἰ[σ]ιδώρα τῇ καὶ Τσεναρτεμα. Cf. 12, 14–15. P. Mich. XI 615 = SB XXIV 16265 (Oxy.; 259?), a document of the same type as **5116**, likewise concerns a certain Aurelia Isidora, but she is probably a namesake (no alias given).

The name Τσεναρτεμα is new, though something similar has been suggested for SB I 3842.1 Τσενάρ(τεμικ?), a mummy label of doubtful authenticity. Since a female name *Ἀρτεμα is unattested, it is conceivable that this is a formation from Τσεν-, ‘daughter of’, and the father’s name Ἀρτεμᾶς; cf. e.g. the female name Τσεναμμωνᾶς in II **247** 6–7, 34–5 (90). The form Τσεναρτεμα might have resulted from *Τσεναρτεμᾶς. For other Egyptian prefixes in the formation of female names, see e.g. J. Bingen, *CE* 63 (1988) 167–72 = *Pages d’épigraphie grecque* (2005) 104–10.

6–10 Year 5, Payni = 26 May – 24 June 258. This is the earliest certain attestation of Saloninus in the papyri, and replaces XXXI **2560** (4–12 August 258; see J. R. Rea, *Pap. Congr. XVII* iii (1984) 1125 n. 1). It is unclear when the death of Valerian Caesar and subsequent elevation of Saloninus to

the rank of Caesar became known in Egypt and generally in the eastern part of the Empire. There are two conflicting pieces of evidence:

(1) P. Lond. III 953r dscr. of 25 February – 26 March 258, whose dating clause may well have included Saloninus' name, as suggested by W. H. M. Liesker, *Pap. Congr. XVIII* ii (1988) 459 (cf. 463). Liesker restored the name on the basis of considerations of space, which seem well founded; without diacritics and capitalization, lines 13–14 of this document may roughly be presented as follows (for better illustration, I have separated the restored parts from the extant, and in the extant parts I have not indicated the few letters in lacuna):

13	[	καίσαρωνπουπλιουλικιννιουουαλεριανουκαιπουπλιουλικιννιουουαλεριαν]	
(13)		ουγαλλιηνουγερμανικωνμεγιστωνευσεβων	
14	[	ευτυχωνκαιπουπλιουλικιννιουκορνηλιουσαλωνιουουαλεριανουτου]	
(14)		επιφανεστατουκαισαροσεβαστωνφαμενωθ	

The left-hand edge is straight at this point, and the writing in the extant parts of the two lines is regular (I have checked a microfilm): the same number of letters occupy roughly the same space. If we do not restore *Καλωνίνου* in 14, there would be too much room in the break not accounted for. Whether something else was written, or even a mistake was made, we cannot tell.

(2) SEG LV 1280, a rescript of Valerian, Gallienus and Valerian Caesar (*Δικίννιος Κο[ρν]ή(λ)ιος Ουαλεριανός επιφανέστατος* | *Καίσαρ*, ii 5–6) issued in Antioch on 28 May, and recorded in a (lost) inscription from Smyrna: see D. Feissel in S. Follet (ed.), *L'Hellénisme d'époque romaine* (2004) 341–55 = Feissel, *Documents, droit, diplomatique de l'Empire romain tardif* (2010) 101–15, who has argued that the text can only date from 258 (see esp. pp. 354–5). This inscription ought to postdate another found in Aphrodisias (re-edited as InsAph2007:9.43, at <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAphog0043.html>), which records an imperial letter of Valerian and Gallienus issued in 'Agrippina', presumably Cologne, on 23 August of an unknown year. Though there is no other evidence that Valerian was in Cologne in summer 257, this seems to be the likeliest date for the letter in the Aphrodisias inscription, which would support the dating of SEG LV 1280 to 258. The letter makes no mention of Valerian Caesar, which is in line with what we would expect at that time.

Thus it would appear that Saloninus was included in Egyptian dating clauses as early as February/March 258, whereas in imperial circles elsewhere in the East Valerian Caesar was thought to be alive as late as 28 May 258. This is plainly impossible. I do not see how to reconcile these two pieces of evidence except by positing an error (ancient or modern) in one of them. However, if SEG LV 1280 dates from 258, we may ask whether 'Valerianus *nobilissimus* Caesar' refers to Saloninus; there is some evidence for Saloninus being called Valerianus *tout court*, though this seems limited to constitutions included in the Justinianic Corpus; see M. Christol, *CCG* 8 (1997) 248 with n. 21, who qualifies the remarks of C. Zaccaria, *QSAE* 2 (1978) 102–5.

Valerian Caesar's latest Egyptian record may come from XIV 1717 = C. Pap. Gr. I 38 of 14 February 258. The reading of the name of the month is uncertain ([*Μεχ*][*ε*][*ρ* κ), but this is not implausible in view of SB XVIII 13174. Valerian Caesar is mentioned in the regnal date clauses of three of the documents embedded in this record of proceedings of the city council of Antinoopolis; all three clauses lack the month-day part but are no doubt earlier than Mecheir 15, year 5 (no emperors mentioned), i.e., 9 February 258, the date of the text cited immediately after the third clause. (The edition has *ε*// *Μεχεῖρ ιε* in ii 15, but the context and the double dash strongly suggest that *ε* is a year figure; a digital image, supplied through the kind mediation of Professor Jean Gascou, indicates that the scribe did write the year symbol, which the editor may have taken as the extension of the top of sigma—unless the omission is a typographical error.) Liesker, loc. cit. 458, argues that these regnal clauses postdate 19 January 258. (AE 1929, 29, would prove that Valerian Caesar was still alive on 10 December 257, if the identity of the Caesar could be established beyond doubt.)

10–11 Applicants' subscriptions in documents of this kind are rare; as far as I can see, there is only one other example, in SB XVI 12520.31 (Ars.; 190).

13, 16 Year 6, Mecheir 19 = 13 February 259.

17 (mrg.)] προκειμένοις. This addition, by a second hand, is unexpected in a text of this type.

N. GONIS

5117. SWORN DECLARATION CONCERNING APPEARANCE IN COURT

15 2B.43/B(a)

7.2 × 14.5 cm

17 May 264

The beginning of the declaration is missing. In what remains, Aurelius Zethus makes a promise to appear in the prefect's court until his dispute with a minor who is acting through her mother is settled. For the use of such declarations to ensure the attendance in court of parties to a lawsuit, see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* (²1955) 499ff., E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 109ff., and P. Sängner, *Veteranen unter den Severern und frühen Soldatenkaisern: Die Dokumentensammlungen der Veteranen Aelius Sarapammon und Aelius Syrion* = P. Vet. Aelii (HABES 48: 2011) 76–8, with a list of parallel texts on p. 76 n. 58 (we are grateful to Dr Sängner for a preview of his study in advance of publication).

The back is blank.

.
]. ε [
 Ἀὐρηλία . ρ[c.5] ἀφῆ-
 λιξ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀρτέ-
 μιτος πρὸς με δίκην
 5 ὑπακούειν τῷ ἡγεμο-
 νικῶ δικαστηρίῳ
 ἄχρις οὗ τ[ὸ π]ρᾶγμα ἀπο-
 φάνεως τύχη ἢ ἔνοχος
 εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ. (vac.)
 10 (ἔτους) ια' Ἀὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Λικιννίου
 Γαλλιηνῶ Γερμανικοῦ
 Μεγίστ[ο]υ [E]ὐσεβοῦς
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ,
 15 Παχων κβ'. (m.2) Ἀυρήλιος
 Ζήθος Σαραπίωνος ὁμο-
 σα τὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἕκαστα
 ποιήσω ὡς πρόκειται. Ἀυρή-
 λιος Ἀπολλώνιος ἔγραψα

20 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδότης γράμ-
ματα.

4 δικην corr. from δικας 5 l. ὑπακούειν 6 line-filler at the end of the line
7-8 l. ἀποφάσεως? 10 L 18 l. πρόκειται 20 l. εἰδότης

‘. . . (in reference to) the action (which) Aurelia . . . , minor, through her mother Artemis (has) against me, (I swear that) I will answer to my name in the court of the prefect until the case should reach a judgement or may I be liable to the penalty of the oath.

‘Year 11 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Pachon 22.’ (2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Zethus son of Sarapion, have sworn the oath and will do everything as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Apollonius, wrote for him because he is illiterate.’

The beginning of the declaration would have contained an address to the relevant official (presumably the strategus), the full nomenclature of the person making the declaration, and the beginning of an oath, which runs until l. 9. This part may have invoked the *τύχη* of the emperor and promised a trip to Alexandria, where the prefect held his permanent court; cf. Sängers, *P. Vet. Aelii* p. 77 and (text) 3.6-8 n., 8-11 n.

1-6 A relative clause interrupting the movement from *ὀμνύω* to *ὑπακούειν* is needed to account for the nominative *Αὐρηλία* . . . ἀφήλιξ: e.g., *ὀμνύω* . . . ἢ μὴν περὶ ἣν ἔχει] *Αὐρηλία* . . . πρὸς με δίκην ὑπακούειν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ δικαστηρίῳ; cf. the similar construction in II 260 5-12, another promise to appear in court.

2 ρ[c.5]: slight trace followed by a long descender; perhaps *ῤρ-*, e.g., *ῤρ[ιγενία]* (*Ἄρ[τεμις]* is less likely).

3-4 *Ἀρτέμιος*. On the name see O. Masson, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 126-30 (= *Onomastica graeca selecta* ii 543-7); contra J. Bingen, *CE* (2001) 226-7 (= *Pages d'épigraphie grecque* ii 74-5), who argues that it is a perispomenon (-εῖς, -εῖτος).

5-6 *ὑπακούειν* (l. -ειν) τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ δικαστηρίῳ. For the collocation cf. SB XVI 12949.31 (iii) *ὑπακούσαι μου τῷ δικαστηρίῳ*. For the legal grounds of summonses to the prefect's court, see Sängers, *P. Vet. Aelii* pp. 79-81, with further references.

7ff. ἄχρις οὗ κτλ. This condition occurs often in such declarations (II 260, *P. Hamb.* I 4, BGU III 891), since the summons was for the duration of the court session (cf. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 501).

7-8 τ[ὸ π]ρᾶγμα ἀποφάνεως τύχη. Cf. XLIII 3117 13f. εἰ ἄκριτον ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα . . . ἐπὶ δὲ κέκριται καὶ ἀποφάσεως φθάνον τετύχηκε[ν].

ἀποφάνεως appears to stand for *ἀποφάσεως*, but we have not been able to find another interchange of medial *v* and *c* between vowels; the phenomenon is rare even with influence from an adjacent consonant (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 131 n. 3). We have considered whether *ἀποφάνεως* was intended (cf. LSJ s. v. ἀπόφασις (B)), but the omission of medial sigma after nu is again hard to parallel.

16 Zethus was an uncommon name in Egypt, attested in fewer than ten documents (the earliest was an imperial slave known from two first-century ostraca from Berenice; see O. Ber. I 106.1 n.). At Oxyrhynchus, besides the Zethus son of Sarapion in this papyrus, another Aur. Zethus is known from the beginning of the next century in a document where he appears to act as amanuensis for an Aur. Apollonius son of Sarapion (XLIII 3143).

17 *ἔκαστα*. One wonders if *ἔκαστα* implies that *ὀμνύω* was followed by more infinitives than the one surviving *ὑπακούειν*, that is, if Zethus promised some other action in the lost part of the declaration in addition to appearing in court, e.g., sailing down to Alexandria (cf. BGU III 891).

J. YUAN

5118. REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

A 3^A B.4/4(a)

7.8 × 5.5 cm

286–292?
Plate VII

This exiguous fragment is complete at the top and right. It is noteworthy for its reference to a *Νειλαῖον*; see 2 n. It is clear from line 3 that we have the start of a record of proceedings; for this type of document see R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (Pap. Brux. 4: 1966). It is also clear that a considerable amount has been lost at the left, perhaps three-quarters of the original document. This is deduced from the probable regnal titles to be supplied in the first two lines; see further 1–2 n. The back is blank.

I have benefited from preliminary work on this papyrus by N. Lewis.

] τ[οῦ] κυρ[ί]ου ἡμῶν Μάρκου
]εβαστῶν Ἄθυρ γ̄ ἐν τῷ Νειλαίῳ
]ντινίου. Ἀδριανὸς ῥ(ήτωρ) εἰπ(εν)· Σεράς
] κέκτηται δὲ ἐν τῇ . υ . [

3 β ε ι²

1–2 We can be reasonably confident from palaeographical considerations that this elegant hand belongs to the late third or early fourth century. Since we are dealing with two or more *Augusti*, this points to the period after Maximian became joint emperor with Diocletian; and since to include the names of Constantius and Galerius as well would make the lines improbably long, we may with some confidence assign the papyrus to the period 286–292. For imperial titles in this period see *CSBE*² 226–8. There are very few instances in which Maximian's title begins with τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. They are cited in *CSBE*² 227, under B.(4), as papyri which have τοῦ κυρίου twice: XIV 1642 10, SB XVI 12829 = P. Col. X 281.25, P. Stras. 557.23–4 [not 557.13 as cited in *CSBE*²] and SB XVI 13065.3–4; add LVIII 3930 15–18. As indicated in *CSBE*², all these papyri also use τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν for Diocletian, never *Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος*. All, however, use just *Διοκλητιανοῦ* and *Μαξιμιανοῦ* for the names of the emperors, without giving *praenomina*, etc. The only possible exception to this pattern is P. Kellis I 1 of 293/4, but this text is heavily restored. 5118 must have had more than *Διοκλητιανοῦ* and *Μαξιμιανοῦ*. If we restore the full titles ἔτους η̄ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γαίου Ἀύρηλιου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ ἔτους η̄-1] τ[οῦ] κυρ[ί]ου ἡμῶν Μάρκου| Ἀύρηλιου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν]εβαστῶν, we obtain lines of approximately equal length, suggesting lines of at least 75 letters with some 60 letters lost at the left. It is possible, however, that the lines were somewhat shorter than this, since several papyri have slight variations on the way the imperial titles are recorded; see *CSBE*² 226–8.

2 ἐν τῷ Νειλαίῳ. This presumably was a sanctuary of the Nile god. It has been hitherto encountered in the papyri only in the third-century SPP V 127 = XX 68, reprinted as SB X 10299, line 180. The papyrus records a stretch of a city with temples of Antinoos and Hadrian, then 'the Serapeion by the Neilaion and the Neilaion (itself)', *Σαραπείου πρὸς τῷ Νειλαίῳ καὶ Νειλαίου* (also on this street were a Nymphaion, a Tychaion, a *pylon* of Aphrodite, a tetrastyle of Athena, and a gateway of Selene). It is usually assumed that the city in question was Hermopolis, since the papyrus was found

there (see, e.g., Roeder and Bonneau cited below); but Jean Gascou has suggested that the city was Alexandria (private communication). Unfortunately **5118** contains no information suggesting the city where the Neilaion was situated. Adam Lukaszewicz, *Les Édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine* (1986) 57, surely goes too far in suggesting that the Neilaion in SB 10299 may be 'un synonyme de nilomètre', although he is probably right in supposing that there is some connection between it and a nilometer. On this Neilaion see G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939* (1959) 103; Danielle Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil* (1964) 380-81; eadem, *Le Fisc et le Nil* (1972) 35; and eadem, *REgypt* 23 (1971) 49-65.

There is a little more evidence for the *Neilaia*, a festival of the Nile god, involving a ceremony which could, but need not necessarily, have taken place at a shrine of the river god. As Egypt was (and is) 'the gift of the Nile', the worship of the river god must have been in evidence throughout the country. On the *Neilaia* see Bonneau, *Crue* 361-420 and *REgypt* 23 (1971) 49-65, and Françoise Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque* (1993) 116-17.

There are a few other examples of proceedings taking place in a temple, e.g. P. Stras. III 146 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (156-9; see BL VII 246), IX **876** (c.300) ἐν τῷ Ἀντινοεῖῳ, LIV **3758** 134 (325) and **3767** (329/330) ἐν τῷ Ἀδριανίῳ, **3759** (325) ἐν τῷ Κορίῳ ἱερῷ, and ChLA XI 466 = SB XII 11043 (152) ἐν Καίσαρειᾷ [= Caesarea Palaestina] ἐν τῷ ναῷ; cf. also LIV **3757** 3 n.

3 Ἀ]ντινόου. This is most likely to be a patronymic. It could of course be part of a longer name, e.g. Φιλα]ντινόου.

ἐἴπ(εν). The way ἐἴπεν is abbreviated is characteristic of reports dating from the mid third century onwards, see Coles, *Reports* 40, 44-6.

Ἐρᾶς. An unusual name, no doubt the name of Hadrianus's client. There are several instances where an advocate's speech begins with the name of his client, e.g. LIV **3758** 41 and n., 99, 157, **3759** 2-3.

J. DAVID THOMAS

5119. SALE ON CREDIT

100/174(a)

16 × 20 cm

28 November - 27 December 403

The upper left part of a sale on credit ('Kaufpreisstundung'), a type of document in which the buyer acknowledges debt for the price of the object sold and promises future payment. Only a dozen such contracts are known, of which **5119** is now the earliest, the second earliest being SB XX 15137 (Oxy.; 416). For a list of relevant papyri and a discussion of their formulas, contents, and juristic aspects, see A. Jördens, *ZPE* 98 (1993) 263-82 (P. Heid. inv. G 1669 and P. Louvre E 7053 bis are now SB XX 15137 and XXII 15703 respectively). The object of the sale, which consists of more than one unit (cf. 9 ὧν), and its price, which is more than one solidus, are lost. Missing from the bottom of the document are the promise-to-pay clause, the usual guarantees, the debtor's subscription, and possibly a notarial signature.

A special point of interest is the origin of the debtor, a man from Eleutheropolis in Palestine (see 4 n.) who resides apparently in a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome.

The papyrus is irregularly broken at the right and bottom. The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

ὑπατία τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰ[ωνίου Ἀυγούστου
 τὸ α καὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Ρουμιρίδου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) Χοιακ . . [
 Ἀὐρήλιος Ἰσσης Ἰωάν[νου μητρὸς N.N. ἀπὸ
 τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως Ἰουδαί . . . c.20 καταγινόμενος
 5 μενος ἐν κώμῃ Π(.).λ . . . [n πάγου τοῦ Ὄξυρρυχίτου(?) νομοῦ
 Ἀὐρηλίῳ Μαρτυρίῳ Θεοφίλ[ου μητρὸς N.N. ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 καὶ λαμπ[ροτάτ]η[ς Ὄξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ
 ὀφίλ[ειν σοι καὶ χρεωστεῖν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς c.15
 ὧν ἐώνημαι πα[ρὰ σοῦ c.30
 10 δόκιμα εὔστα[θμα c.30
 [.].[.].[

1 ὑπατία, 1. ὑπατεία 2 φλ' 1. Ρουμορίδου λαμπρ° 8 1. ὀφείλειν

‘In the consulship of our master Theodosius, the eternal Augustus, for the 1st time, and of Flavius Rumoridus, *vir clarissimus*, Choiak *n*.

‘Aurelius Isscs, son of Ioannes, mother N.N., (. . .) from Eleutheropolis . . . resident in the village P— of the *n*th *pagus* of the Oxyrhynchite(?) nome, to Aurelius Martyrius, son of Theophilus, mother N.N., from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I acknowledge that I owe to you for the price of . . . , which I bought from you (and removed in accordance with the agreement between us?), *n* solidi of gold, (. . .) approved, of full weight . . .’

1–2 This is the third Egyptian attestation of the consulship of the future emperor Theodosius II and the former *magister utriusque militiae* Flavius Rumoridus in 403; see Bagnall and Worp, *CSBE*² 193, and Bagnall et al., *CLRE* 340–41. The other papyri do not specify that this is Theodosius’ first time as consul. The consuls of the previous year, Arcadius Aug. v and Honorius Aug. v, are last attested in a post-consular dating of 26 May 403 (P. Grenf. II 81.1–3 from Hermopolis), while the present consuls are first attested on 7 September 403 (X 1319 1–2).

2 Ρουμιρίδου (1. Ρουμορίδου). A unique spelling.

λαμπρο(τάτου). The scribe first wrote λαμπρ and added the abbreviation stroke in an awkward place (intersecting the loop of ρ rather than its stem); he then extended the stroke upwards and looped it downwards to form the superscript omicron.

. . [. Two sets of traces on damaged strips of papyrus, the first apparently the top of an upright or steeply descending oblique, the second possibly a double stroke marking the number.

3 Ἰσσης. First attestation of this Semitic name in the papyri from Egypt; cf. I. Gaza (= C. A. M. Glucker, *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (1987)) 39.4 = SEG XXVIII 1407 (509), 40.2 (undated). It is not listed in T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* i, iii–iv (2002–11).

4 τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως. On Eleutheropolis, an important city in Palaestina Prima located between Gaza and Jerusalem (modern Beit Jibrin), see *RE* V 2353–4, Suppl. XIII 423; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (²1971) 278–9; Y. Tsafir, L. di Segni, J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea-Palaestina* (1994) 118; cf. also *ZPE* 173 (2010) 176–7 (contrary to what is stated there, the city did not acquire the status of *colonia* when it was refounded by Septimius Severus as a *polis* in 199/200). This is its fourth and latest mention in the papyri from Egypt after Manchester Museum inv. 10894 (282/3; cd. *ZPE* 173 (2010) 175–89), L 3574 3 (c.314–18), and XIV 1722 3 (315–23; BL V 79).

The hypothesis that there was a second Eleutheropolis in a shadowy and short-lived Egyptian province called Arabia Nova, once proposed by T. D. Barnes and G. W. Bowersock on the basis of **3574**, has not found much favour; see **3574** 3–4 n.; Ph. Mayerson, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 251–8, 56 (1984) 223–30, 64 (1986) 139–40; R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (1993) 108; contra T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982) 205–6, 211, 213–15; G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (1983) 144–6, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 221–2. The name of Aurelius Isses here (like that of Aurelius Malchus son of Ionathes in **3574**) clearly points to an origin in Palestine; cf. above, 3 n., and see next paragraph.

Ιουδαί[. Three restorations suggest themselves: (i) ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ | τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως Ἰουδαία[ς, ‘of Iudaea’ being an informal indication of the geographical area in which Eleutheropolis was located; for a similar unofficial description, cf. PSI VII 771.2 (Oxy.; 321; see BL IX 317) ἀπὸ Βόστρων Κυρίας (Bostra was in the province Arabia); (ii) τῶν ἀπὸ | τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως Ἰουδαίω[ν (proposed by R.-L. Chang), which has a parallel only much earlier in II **335** 4 = C. Pap. Iud. II 423 (c.85/6; ed. *ZPE* 170 (2009) 175–6) τῶν ἀπ’ Ὀξ(υρ)ύχων πόλ(εως) Ἰουδαίων. In both cases, it is unclear what might have stood in the remaining space before καταγινόμενος (the name of a profession or trade?). A third possibility that would account for part of the space is ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ | τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως Ἰουδαίω[ς τὴν θρησκείαν *vel sim.* (cf. e.g. SB XVIII 13620.4 (473; see BL IX 304) Ἰου]δαίου τῆ θρησκεία; P. Ant. I 42 = C. Pap. Iud. III 508.10 (557; see BL VIII 9) Ἰουδαίω τὴν θρησκείαν), but such a designation would have been expected after the names in 3, not sandwiched between ἀπό . . . and καταγινόμενος.

4–5 καταγινόμενος. See LXVIII **4681** 7 n.

5 ἐν κώμη Π()λ. . . [It is unclear whether some traces on torn fibres between π and λ belong to a separate letter or to the top of the now lost second leg of λ. If the village, as seems likely, is in the Oxyrhynchite nome, the only possible κώμαι suiting the traces are Πελα, Πάλωσις, Πλεειν, and Πλεω (though in the case of the last we would expect to see the descender of the second lambda). An indication of the *pagus* in which the village was situated is necessitated by the space available; *pagi* are mentioned in Oxyrhynchite documents as late as 411 (LV **3803** 3–4).

9–10 All sales on credit of the fifth century from Oxyrhynchus contain the clause καὶ ἐβάσταξα κατὰ τὰ μεταξὺ (γενόμενα) κύμφωνα following οὐ/ὦν ἐώνημαι παρὰ σοῦ; cf. VI **914** 8–9 (486), X **1320** descr. (497; see BL III 136), XVI **1973** 9–10 (420), SB 15137.6–7 (VIII **1131** dates from the mid sixth century; see BL X 141). For the clause (without γενόμενα) to fit the space available in line 9, the formula for the quality of the solidi must have been very short, e.g. χρυσοῦ | δόκιμα εὔστα[θμα νομισμάτια n; cf. LXXII **4904** 8 (417), PSI XIII 1340.8 (Oxy.; 420) χρυσοῦ ἀπλᾶ δόκιμα εὔσταθμα νομισμάτια n, P. Köln III 151.10–11 (Cyn.; 423) χρυσοῦ δόκιμα δεσποτικά εὔσταθμα νομισμάτια δύο. Even so, the space seems to me insufficient to accommodate the whole clause, unless we assume abbreviation, e.g. of κύμφ(ωνα). Alternatively, the clause could have been omitted and a fuller description of the solidi given, e.g. χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια ἀπλᾶ δεσποτικά | δόκιμα εὔστα[θμα n.

10 δόκιμα. Delta is oddly open at the bottom and is missing its horizontal base, which does not appear to have been abraded; cf. also the same letter in 1 δεσπότου.

A. BENAÏSSA

5120. ORDER TO SUPPLY MEAT

101/216(a)

6.8 × 4.2 cm

29 November 465

An order to pay an unknown amount of meat in relation to someone or something called ἰππικός (3). The person who authorizes the payment is Phoebammon,

an Oxyrhynchite *curialis*. He may be identical to Fl. Phoebammon, also *curialis*, of **5121** (485) and SB XXII 15257.13 (v/vi), as well as the *curialis* and *pater civitatis* of this name in LXIII **4393** (v); see below, 1 n. On orders to supply meat from late antiquity, see S. Russo, *Comunicazioni Vitelli* 8 (2009) 69–86.

Since the substantive *ἵππικός* has the sense of ‘hippodrome’ in the papyri (see 3 n.), the payment probably relates to the circus of Oxyrhynchus. Its maintenance and the support of its personnel are a municipal liturgy attested in fourth-century Oxyrhynchus under the name of *ἵπποτροφία*; cf. XVII **2110** 6 (370), and see J. Gascou, *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212, esp. 191–3 (= *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 51–71, esp. 55–7). By the sixth century, however, the financing of the hippodrome becomes a fiscal responsibility of the great *οἴκοι* of the city, especially that of the ‘Apions’ (cf. XXVII **2480** and PSI VIII 953). If the proposed link with the hippodrome is correct, the present document would suggest that the *ἵπποτροφία* was still a liturgy incumbent upon *curiales* around the middle of the fifth century, i.e. before the rise and fiscal dominance of the large estates in the area. Gascou, loc. cit. 193 n. 1 (= *Fiscalité* 57 n. 28), proposes that the ‘fiscalisation’ of the circus was part of Anastasius’ financial reforms. The date of **5120** does not invalidate this suggestion.

The order was written across the fibres on a narrow strip and is broken off at the right. It was probably addressed to a butcher in the missing right-hand half of line 1; cf. e.g. X **1335** (482). The signature at the end of the document (4) is in a different hand and ink, and so was presumably penned by Phoebammon himself. The back is blank.

Φοιβάμμων πολ(ιτευόμενος) [
 παράσχου ὑπὲρ [το]ῦ πικ[
 ἵππικοῦ κρέως λίτρα[
 (ἔτους) ρμβ ρια, Χοιακ γ, δ ἰνδ(ικτίονος). (m.2) εεσημεξίωμαι

1 πολ' 3 ἵππικου 4 L ωδ/

‘Phoebammon, *curialis* . . . Deliver on behalf of the entrusted(?) . . . of the hippodrome *n* pounds of meat . . . Year 142/111, Choiak 3, indiction 4.’ (2nd hand) ‘I have signed (. . .)’

1 Φοιβάμμων πολ(ιτευόμενος). This individual cannot be identified with the *πολιτευόμενος* of the same name in VI **902** 4 = M. *Chr.* 72, since the latter is already dead by 464 (τοῦ [τῆ]ς μακαρίας μνήμης Φοιβ[ά]μμωνος τοῦ πολιτευσαμένου). But he is probably identical to the *curialis* Fl. Phoebammon of **5121** (485) and the *curialis* and *pater civitatis* of the same name to whom the petition LXIII **4393** is addressed. The latter document is undated, but the editor assigns it to the fifth century on the basis of the hand (1 n.) and cautiously identifies the addressee with the deceased *curialis* mentioned in **902**; but it is equally possible now to identify him with our Phoebammon, especially since **5120** probably shows him involved in a civic liturgy (note also that **902** concerns the Upper Cynopolite rather than the Oxyrhynchite nome, but this is not a decisive point). (J.-L. Fournet and J. Gascou in D. Feissel and J. Gascou (eds.), *La Pétition à Byzance* (2004) 181, give **4393** a *terminus post quem* of 465,

the earliest attestation of a *pater civitatis* known to them, but *patres* are in fact attested well before this date in unpublished documents from Oxyrhynchus.) One can also add to these attestations SB XXII 15257 (v/vi) as re-edited and reinterpreted by N. Gonis, *Tyche* 17 (2002) 88–9. In this list of payments of barley by notables from the *civitates* of the province of Arcadia, the last preserved entry of contributors from Oxyrhynchus names a Φοιβάμμων πολ(ιτευόμενος) (13), whom Gonis, loc. cit. 91, connects with Fl. Phoebammon of **4393**.

On the title *πολιτευόμενος*, see most recently N. Gonis, P. Worp 26.

2 [το]ῦ πικ[(read by R.-L. Chang). Possibly πικ[τευομένου or πικ[τευθέντος.

3 ἵππικου. Since the word comes last before the amount of meat is given, it is more probably a noun than an adjective. In the papyri the substantive ὁ ἵππικός (sc. δρόμος) can refer to the hippodrome, otherwise known as ὁ δημόσιος κίρκος (I **145** 2 (552)); cf. PSI VIII 953.62 (567/8; see BL V 125), mentioning τοῦ γεουχικ(ου) θεωρίου τ[οῦ] ἵππικ(ου), i.e. the landowner's private 'box' in the hippodrome, and XVI **1925** 42 (vii) as interpreted in BL VI 104 and LVIII **3941** 19 n., referring to a wooden ladder linking the Apion 'villa' to the hippodrome. On the hippodrome of Oxyrhynchus, see J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (1986) 516–19, and for a possible localization using archaeological evidence, see J. Padrò in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (2007) 136–7. For payments connected with it, cf. the accounts XXVII **2480** (565/6) and PSI 953, the receipts **145** and I **152** (618), and the orders to deliver wine to various personnel in O. Ashm. Shelton 83–190 (iv); cf. also XLVII **3358** r (iv). In **2480** 10, 22, 28, 81, etc., the editor translates τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικου as 'the cavalry horses'. Most of these entries occur in the expression εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἵππων τοῦ ἵππικου μέρος Βενέτων and in connection with spectacles, so that the meaning 'the horses of the hippodrome which belong to the Blue faction' seems more suitable (in 105–6 horses are sold εἰς λόγον τοῦ ἵππικ(ου)); cf. the parallel expression in **145** 1–2 εἰς χρεῖ(αν) τῶν ἵππων τοῦ δημοσί(ου) κίρκου μέρος Πρασίτων. Preisigke, *WB* s.v. 3, also assigns the meaning 'groom' ('Pferdeknecht') to ἵππικός on the basis of three papyri, but this has been shown to be untenable by G. Husson, *Rech. Pap.* 4 (1967) 199 n. 1, who admits only the meaning of 'circus' or 'circus stable'.

4 For the conversion of the date to its Julian equivalent, see *CSBE*² 144, 160.

εσσημε[ίωμαι. The 'signature' would have probably continued by confirming the amount of meat to be delivered, i.e. κρέως λίτρας η μόνας.

A. BENAÏSSA

5121. WORK CONTRACT OF DONKEY DRIVER

30 4B.41/J(1–2)b

18.1 × 18.9 cm

29 April – 24 May 485

The upper part of a donkey driver's work contract with Fl. Phoebammon, *curialis* of Oxyrhynchus and landowner; on this man's possible identity see **5120** 1 n. The period of service is not specified (see 8–9 n.), and the amount of pay, which is at least partly in kind, has not been preserved.

For a list and discussion of work contracts from Byzantine Egypt, see A. Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten* = P. Heid. V (1990) 130–84; Oxyrhynchite accretions since that publication are listed in LXXIII **4967** introd. SB XVIII 13962 (Ars.; 630–45) is a work contract of a camel driver; cf. also SPP III² 56 (Ars.; vi/vii) and III 324 (Ars.; 672 or 687), both wage receipts for donkey drivers.

The text is written along the fibres in a large and flowing cursive, with occasionally exaggerated letters (e.g. υ of $\upsilon\text{πατείαν}$ at 1, the initial ϕ at 3, the initial \omicron of $\delta\muολογῶ$ at 7).

+ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αουῖου) Θεοδοωρίχου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) [Π]αχωγ. [(.),
 (vac.) ἰνδικ(τίονος) η, ἐν Ὁξυρύγγ(ων).
 Φλαουῖω Φοιβάμμωνι τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ πολ[ιτ]ευομένῳ
 υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης Μαρτυρίου γενομένου
 5 διακόνου γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν Α[ὕ]ρήλιος
 Φιλόξενος υἱὸς Αἰώνος μητρὸς Ἄννας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
 χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ συντεθείσθαι με πρὸς τὴν σὴν
 εὐγένειαν ἐπὶ τῷ με παραμεῖναι αὐτῆς ἀπὸ νεομηνίας
 τοῦ ἕξῃς μηνὸς Παυνι τῆς παρούσης ὀγδόης ἰνδικτίονος
 10 <καὶ> χώραν ὀνηλάτη παρ' αὐτῇ ἀποπληρῶσαι καὶ τῶν
 κατ[απισ]τευομένων μοι κτηνῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
 ποιήσ[α]ρθαι καὶ δέξασθ[α]ί με λόγῳ μισθοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ [εἰσιόντος? μ]ηνὸς κύτου ἀρτάβας
 c.9].[c.13].[.].[c.6]σπέρμου
 15 c.35] τερσερ[

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(*m.1?*) + συνάλλ(αγμα) Φιλοξένου υἱὸς Αἰώνος ὀνηγάτης

1 ὑπατειαν φλ λαμπρ 2 ἰνδικ (only left dot of diaeresis visible) 3 οξυρυγγ— 4 υῖω
 6 υῖος 8 l. εὐγένειαν, αὐτῇ 9 ἰνδικτιονος 10 l. ὀνηλάτου 16 συναλλ/ υῖος,
 l. υἱοῦ l. ὀνηλάτου

'After the consulship of Flavius Theodericus, *vir clarissimus*, Pachon (day), indiction 8, in (the city of) Oxyrhynchi.

'To Flavius Phoebammon, the venerable *curialis*, son of the late deacon Martyrius of pious memory, landowner here in the (city) of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Philoxenus, son of Aeion, mother Anna, from the same (city), greetings.

'I acknowledge that I have contracted with your nobility to serve you from the first day of the following month Pauni of the present eighth indiction (and) to fulfil the function of donkey-driver with you and to take care of the animals entrusted to me and to receive on account of pay each year (starting) from the following month *n* artabas of wheat . . . radish-oil(?) . . . four . . .'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Contract of Philoxenus, son of Aeion, donkey-driver.'

1-2 On the consulship of Theoderic in 484 and the conversion of the date, see Bagnall and Worp, *CSBE*² 89, 200, and Bagnall et al., *CLRE* 503, 505. The trace of the day number in 1 is the top of a tall upright compatible with 1 d η κ, perhaps with sufficient space for another letter after that; possibilities therefore range from [Π]αχωγ δ (29 April) to [Π]αχωγ κ[θ] (24 May).

3 τῶ αἰδέσιμῳ πολ[ι]τευομένῳ. For the use of the epithet αἰδέσιμος with curial rank, see LXVIII 4701 6 n. Note that it is applied to a *pater civitatis* of Diocaesarea in SEG XX 417 (517/18), as corrected by J. Gascoü, *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 202 n. 5; cf. 5120 1 n. for the possibility that Fl. Phoebammon held this office.

4 τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης. Cf. LVIII 3958 12–13 n.

In XLIX 3512 3–5 (492), a γεουχῶν and αἰδέσιμος πολιτευόμενος by the name of Flavius Iohannes is the son τοῦ τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης Μαρτυρίου(ν). He might conceivably be the brother of Fl. Phoebammon.

5 διακόνου. Phoebammon presumably inherited his curial status and lauded wealth from his father Martyrius, so that it comes as a surprise to learn that the latter was a deacon, a relatively low ecclesiastical position within the clergy whose economic activities were generally not very substantial; see E. Wipszycka, *Les Ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV^e au VIII^e siècle* (1972) 160–73, and cf. CPR XXIV 1.5–6 n. I am not aware of any deacon who was formerly a *curialis* in the papyri from Egypt. Moreover, imperial legislation strongly condemned the ordination of *curiales*, since the clergy were exempt from municipal liturgies; see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964) ii 745–6, 925–6, and A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'Empire protobyzantin* (2002) 49–51. One way to resolve this apparent difficulty is to suppose that Martyrius took orders only late in his life, surrendering beforehand his property and curial obligations to his son(s), and did not live long enough to be promoted to priest.

In Laniado's catalogue of *curiales* from the reign of Anastasius onwards (*Recherches* 75–87), there figures a πρωτεύων of Emesa who is also deacon (SEG VIII 312 (601); *Recherches* 86 no. 75, 208–9); but, as Laniado notes, the title of πρωτεύων at this date need not imply existence of a *curia* (*Recherches* 206–8). For a (probably non-curial) notable and possessor of Alexandria who tried to bribe his way to the deaconate, see Laniado, *Recherches* 197 no. 32.

τῇ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν. For the rare omission of πόλει, see N. Gonis, *ΖΡΕ* 141 (2002) 161 with n. 13.

7–8 τὴν σὴν εὐγένιαν (l. -ειαν). This address and the related honorific title εὐγενέστατος are discussed by K. A. Worp, *ΖΡΕ* 109 (1995) 181–6, esp. 184–6. For another landowner and πολιτευόμενος addressed in the same way, cf. 3512 8, 15 (Phoebammon's brother? See above, 4 n.).

8 παραμεῖναι. This verb is not meant in a technical sense denoting a special legal obligation and should not be connected to the so-called παραμονή contracts of an earlier period, whereby a debtor undertakes to pay off a loan by serving with the lender; see Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen* 284–95, esp. 293–4.

8–9 Although the day on which the contract takes effect is specified, its duration is not stated (this is not uncommon; see Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen* 154–5). The schedule of payment below (12–13) stipulates a payment 'every year' (καθ' ἕκαστον [ἐνιαυ]τόν), which may imply a period of service of many years; but cf. SB XX 14400 (VI/VII), a work contract of a single year stipulating payment καθ' ἐν[ε]νιαυτόν (11). Annual payment is the norm in work contracts (Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen* 157–8).

10 <καί>. The omission of καί between παραμεῖναι (8) and ἀποπληρῶσαι (10) may be due to the fact that the clause (τὴν) χώραν . . . ἀποπληρῶσαι/ἐκτελέσαι often occurs first after συντεθείσθαι . . . ἐπὶ τῷ/ἐφ' ᾧ in work contracts (e.g. I 136 15 = W. Chr. 383, 140 12 = W. Chr. 438, XVI 1894 12, XIX 2239 10).

10–12 τῶν κατ[α]πι[σ]τευομένων μοι κτηνῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσ[α]σθαι. This clause is not formulaic in work contracts and is used here to define further the work expected from Philoxenus. For the passive participle of καταπιστεύω in other work contracts, cf. I 136 8–9 = W. Chr. 383 (583) τῆς καταπιστευομ[έ]νης αὐτῷ προνοησίας, P. Mil. II 48.11–12 (549; see BL VII 103) τὰ καταπιστευόμενα μοι παρὰ σ[ο]ῦ εἰς πλήρης ἀποκαταστήσαι, LXXII 4910 7–8 (447) ἐν ταῖς καταπι[σ]τευομέναις.

13 τοῦ [εἰσιόντος? μ]ηνός. The lacuna can accommodate c.10 letters. ἐξῆς (cf. 9) would be too

short. Possibilities paralleled elsewhere are *ἐσομένου* (cf. CPR VII 39.5 (405/6; see BL VIII 112)) and *εἰσιόντος* (cf. SB XVI 12868.8 (592/3)).

14]*σπέρμου* (read by R.-L. Chang). Probably restore *λαχανο]σπέρμου*.

16 *συνάλλ(αγμα)*. This designation of the contract is typical of documents originating from the Oxyrhynchite nome; see P. Heid. V 349.11 n.

ὀνηγάτης (l. *ὀνηλάτου*). The scribe is perhaps conflating *ὀνηλάτης* with *ὀνηγός*, the latter attested in Egypt only by O. Elkab 192.4 (1/II).

A. BENAÏSSA

5122. LOAN OF MONEY

67 6B.8/A(1)a

17.2 × 20.6 cm

13 August 552

A loan of thirteen solidi made to a purple-dyer from his full brother, to be repaid in three instalments within eleven months. There is no mention of interest. The preserved part of the papyrus ends with the description of what happens if the debtor fails to repay any of the instalments. After that the text probably stated the security on which the loan was made, and then continued with the acknowledgment of the debtor and ended with signatures and a notarial subscription.

Thirteen solidi is a significant amount of money, and the largest sum attested in an Oxyrhynchite loan of this period (see 5124 introd.). Our document does not mention interest, as was common practice at that time; perhaps the interest was included in the capital or the creditor did not want to earn money from his brother. Loans from one sibling to another are rare; cf. P. Fouad 48 (Oxy.; 90), PSI III 183 (Heracl.; 484). A further point of interest is the reference to Lent; see below, 16 n.

A *kollesis* is visible at 12.5 cm from the left-hand edge.

I wish to thank the PRCH Student Science Foundation for financial support that facilitated my work on this and other papyri.

† βασιλ[είας τοῦ θειοτ]άτ[ου] καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεξ[π]ότου
 Φλα[ουῖου] Ἰουστινι]ανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνί[ο]υ Ἀ[ὕ]χο[ύ]στου καὶ Ἀ[ὕ]τοκρο[ύ] (ἀτορος)
 ἔτ[ους] κς. τοῖς τὸ ιβ̄ μετὰ τὴν ὑπα[τε]ρί[α]ν Φλαο[υ]ί[ο]υ Βασιλείου
 τοῦ λα[μπροτάτου], Μεσορη κ̄, [ι]νδ̄[(ικτίον)ο(ς)] ιε̄, ἀρχ̄(ῆ) ᾱ.
 5 Ἀὐρή[λιος] ς.4] ς στιπποκορχειστῆς [υ]ῖος Μηνᾱ
 μητρος . [ς.6 ἀπ]ὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυ[γ]χιτῶν Ἀὐρηλίω Κολλούθω
 ὁμογνη[σίω] ἀδελφῶ ἐξ [ἀ]μ[φο]τέρων τῶν γονέων
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀ[ὕ]της πόλεως χαίρειν. [ὁ]μολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι
 παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χρήσει διὰ χειρὸς [ἐ]ξ οἴκου ς[ο]υ εἰς ἰδίας μου
 10 καὶ ἀ[να]γκ[αί]ας χρεῖα[ς] χρυσοῦ νομίσματα δεκατρία
 κατὰ τὴν ς[υ]ναλαγὴν ταύτης τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν, γίνε(ται) χρ(υσοῦ)
 νο(μίσματα) ιγ̄

κεφαλαίου, ἄπερ ἀκίνδυνα ὄντα ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου
ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω σοι ἐν τριεὶν καταβολαῖς,
οὕτως· τῷ μὲν Ἄθυρ μηνὶ τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους $\overline{\text{CK}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}$

15 τῆς πρώτης ἰνδικτίου(ο(ς)) νομίματα τ[έ]σσαρα τρίτον καὶ τῆ [[τε]]
(m.2)τε(ς(m.1)σερακοστῆ τῆς αὐτῆ[ς]) πρώτης ἰνδ[ι]κτίου(ο(ς)) ἄλλα νομίματα
τέσσαρα τρίτον καὶ τῷ Ἐπειφ μηνὶ τῆ[ς αὐ]τῆς πρώτης
ἰνδικτίου(ο(ς)) ἀρχ(ῆ) δευτέρας ἐπιμερήσεως τὰ ἄλλα
νομίματα τέσσαρα τρίτον ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἀνευ
20 πάσης ἀντιλογίας. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀπαντήσω τὴν ὀποτέραν
καταβολῆ[ν, ὁμο]λογῶ .ε[.]ε[c.4].[c.5].βαλεῖν με

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† γρ(αμμάτιον) c.6 στιππο]κ[ογ]χ(ιστου) υἱου Μηνᾶ ἀπὸ τῆς
Ὀξυρρυχ[ι]τ[ῶν χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτων) ιγ †

2]τοκρ	3 ὑπα[	4]νδ[	αρχ	5 l. στιπποκογχιτής	6 corr. from
κολλουθό	11 l. συναλλαγῆν	†χρῆ	13 l. τριεὶν	15, 17, 19 l. τέσσαρα	15 ἰνδ ^ο
τρίτον: some correction above ι		16 l. τεσσαρακοστῆ	ἰνδ[	18 ἰνδικτιου(ο(ς)) αρχ	
19 ἀνυπερθετως	22]χ				

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master Flavius Iustinianus the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 26. The 12th time under the consuls after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*. Mesore 20, indiction 15, at the beginning of the 1st (indiction).

‘Aurelius . . . , purple-dyer of tow, son of Menas, mother . . . , from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelius Colluthus, his full brother from both parents, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you on loan from hand to hand out of your house for my own pressing needs thirteen gold solidi on the standard of this city of the Oxyrhynchites, total 13 gold solidi, as principal, which, being free from all risk, I shall perforce return to you in three instalments, as follows: in Hathyr of the coming year 229/198 of the first indiction, four (and) one-third solidi, during the Lent of the same first indiction four (and) one-third further solidi, and in Epeiph of the same first indiction, at the beginning of the second indiction, the other four (and) one-third solidi without any delay and objection. If I do not repay any of the instalments, I agree that I . . . pay(?) . . .’

Back: ‘Deed of . . . , purple-dyer of tow, son of Menas, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, of 13 gold solidi.’

3 ἔτ[ους κς]. The restoration of Justinian’s regnal year as the 26th is based on the indictional date, as well as the reference to the ‘coming year 229/198’ of the Oxyrhynchite era, which is equated to indiction 1 (Justinian’s *dies imperii* fell on 1 April). See *CSBE*² 62, 150.

τοῖς τὸ $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{B}}$ μετὰ τὴν ὑπα[τε]ί[α]ν] Φλασ[υ]ί[ο]ν Βασιλείου. The postconsular count of Fl. Basilius is given according to the ‘style nouveau’, which numbers the first year after the consulship of Basilius (542) as ‘year 2’. See F. Reiter, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 234–5, and below, **5123** 1–3 n.

4–5 There are some uncertain traces running downwards alongside these lines.

5 στιπποκογχειτής. Purple-dyers of tow appear in two other papyri, both from Oxyrhynchus: XVI **1943** (late v) mentions a guild of *στιπποκογχιταί*, and **1980** (557), almost contemporary with

5122, refers indirectly to the guild (cf. N. Gonis, *ZPE* 150 (2004) 200). They no doubt practised the same trade as the three *κογχισταί* (father and sons) in P. Grenf. II 87 (Herm. ; 602), who hired their services to a master tow-worker (*αὐθέντης στιππουργός*; see E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile* (1965) 18–19, 25–6; J. Gascou, K. A. Worp, *CRIPEL* 10 (1988) 140). The only other purple-dyer attested in papyri appears in P. Herm. 30 (Oxy. ?; 552), a service contract with two purple-dealers. The purple dye was highly priced (see Wipszycka, *op. cit.* 151–3; M. Mossakowska-Gaubert in B. Mathicu et al. (edd.), *L'Apport de l'Égypte à l'histoire des techniques* (2006) 171 n. 10), and purple-dyers seem to have been generously paid (cf. the 11 solidi min. 5 carats for a two-year contract in P. Herm. 30); all this is in line with the large sum of money involved in **5122**. For purple dye in antiquity, see J. Napoli in C. Alfaro et al. (edd.), *Purpureae vestes* (2004) 123–36; D. Cardon, *Natural Dyes* (2007) 553–87.

11 *κατὰ τὴν ε[υ]ναλαγὴν ταύτης τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν*. This is an uncommon expression. Local standards are usually referred to as *ζυγόν* (τῆς πόλεως). See K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia* 13.

11–12 *γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μίματα) ἰγ̄ κεφαλαίου*. See LXXI **4835** 15 n.

13 *ἐν τριεὶν καταβολαῖς*. We find three instalments also in XVI **1892** (581) and SB VIII 9769 (Ars.; vii). The highest number attested in this period is eight (P. Amh. II 148, of 487).

14 *κθ̄ ρφ̄η*. Year 229/198 of the Oxyrhynchite era corresponds to 552/3; see *CSBE*² 150.

15–16 *[[τε]]|τεε-*. Dr Chang observes that the scribe started to write the word *τεσσαρακοστῆ* in 15, omitting the first sigma. To correct the error, a second hand added *τεε-* in 16 and tried to erase the previous *τε-*.

16 *τεσσαρακοστῆ*. The term refers to the period of Lent (*sc. νηστεία*) rather than the 40th day (*sc. ἡμέρα*) before Easter; see Lampe, *PGL* s. v., and Socr. *Eccl. hist.* 5.22.33 *οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρὸ ἑβδομάδων ἕξ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα νηστείαν νηστεύουσιν, τεσσαρακοστὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζοντες* (see P. Maraval et al. [edd.], *Socrate de Constantinople, Histoire ecclésiastique, Livres IV–VI* (2006) 226 n. 3). In 553, Lent in Egypt started on 10 March = 14 Phamenoth (Monday) and ended on 18 April = 23 Pharamouthi (Good Friday), to judge from St Athanasius' computation in his *Festal Letters* 6 (334), 7 (335), 10 (338), 11 (339), 13 (341), 3 (342), 19 (347), 2 (352), 25 (353), 26 (354), 39 (367), 40 (368) and 42 (370), now to be consulted in A. Camplani (ed.), *Atanasio di Alessandria: Lettere festali* (2003); cf. also V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (1958) 270, 312–13. The *quadregesima* was instituted in Egypt in 334 by St Athanasius, who may only have formalized local practice; see Camplani, *op. cit.* 178–81. For the practice itself, cf. e.g. Shenoute's exhortation on Lenten fast in P. Rain. Cent. 9.

In published papyri and ostraca, Lent is called *τεσσαρακοστή* only in O. Crum 419 (see Förster, *Wörterbuch* s. v.), but it can also be referred to as *νηστεία*; see e.g. CPR V 25.5 and n., where other references to Lent are mentioned.

21 *.ε[.]ε[c.4]*. The first letter may be gamma, pi, sigma, or tau. The gap between the epsilons could also have contained no letter. It is impossible to read *ἐνεγκεῖν*.

.[c.5] .βαλεῖν, probably *κ[αὶ κατ]αβαλεῖν*. It might also be *-βάλλ[λ]εῖν*.

22 For the restorations, see XVI **1970** (554).

5123. AGREEMENT TO DELIVER WINE

54 1B.25(B)/A(2)a

28.4 × 28.7 cm

29 April 555

Originally written along the fibres on a large square sheet, the document is now complete only at the left and the bottom. A significant portion of its upper right-hand corner is lost from lines 1 to 14, and there is a shorter lacuna further to the left for much of lines 1–17. The notarial signature is written in the right-hand half of the lower margin about 2.5 cm below the subscription's last line. There are three kolleseis at c.3, 15, and 27 cm from the left edge. On the back a one-line endorsement, fairly faded, runs downward along the fibres.

Two *ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί* from the holding Peran Mermerthon of the 'Apion' estate (currently under Apion II) acknowledge that they owe to the estate 259 *sekomata* of wine from the previous year's vintage. Furthermore, they receive one solidus for which they agree to supply an additional 70 *sekomata*. The total 329 *sekomata* are to be delivered in the form of must in Mesore, that is, three months after the date of the contract, on the security of their property. It is notable that the conditions of delivery of the wine (14–17) are similar to those of Oxyrhynchite 'sales on delivery' (see 12, 14, 15 nn.); for a sale on delivery between an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός* and his (non-Apionic) landlord, cf. XLIX 3512 (492). These transactions seem to imply that after paying their rent *ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί* were left with a sufficient marketable surplus as remuneration for their labour, which they could sell either to their own estate or to outside parties; for the latter possibility, cf. LXI 4132 (619), in which the seller is known to be an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός* of the Apion estate from another document, PSI I 61.10–14 (609; see BL XI 172, 243). The 259 *sekomata* owing from the previous year's vintage presumably result from a past, unfulfilled (or partially fulfilled) sale on delivery. For a fuller discussion and interpretation of the document, see 'The Economic Arrangements between the Apion Estate and its *Enapographoi Georgoi*', in G. Azzarello (ed.), *Ricchezza e potere nell'Egitto bizantino: La famiglia degli Apioni ed altre casate ossirinchite* (APF Beiheft 31; forthcoming 2012).

+ βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλαουίου Τουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους κ[θ], τοῖς τὸ ἰδ̄ με[τὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου, (vac.) Πα[χ]ίων δ, [ἰνδ(ικτίον)ο(ς) γ, ἔ[ν] Ὁξυρύχων πόλει.

5 Φλαουίω Ἀπίωνι τῷ π[ανευφ]ήμῳ καὶ ὑ[περφυεστατῷ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδιναρίων γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρῇ [Ὁξυρυχτι]ῶν πόλει διὰ Μηγὰ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερ(ωτώντος) καὶ προσπορ(ίζοντος) τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ [αὐτῷ παν]εϋφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ [τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχὴν Αὐρήλιοι Ἀπολλῶς υἱὸς Ἀβρααμίου μητρ[ός] καὶ Ἀτρῆ[ς υἱὸς Φιβ μητρὸς c.7 ἀμφοτέροι ὀρμώμενοι ἀπὸ κτήματος Πέραν Μερμέρθων κτήματ[ος τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφειάς τοῦ Ὁξυρυχ(ίτου) νομοῦ ἐναπόγραφοι αὐτῇ[ς γ]εωργοὶ χαίρειν. ὀμολογοῦμεν ὀφείλειν [καὶ χρεωστῆν τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφειά, ὑπέρ . [c.4] . . ῥύσεως οὔ[ου τ]ῆς παρούσης [τρ]ίτης [ἰνδ(ικτίον)ο(ς) c.16 αὐτῇ, οἴνου διπ[λά δια]κό[ς]ι[α π]εντήκον[τα] ἔ[ν]νέα. ἔσχαμε[ν δὲ παρὰ τῶν δια]φ[ε]ρ[όντων τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφ[υεία χρ]ύσο[υ νόμ]ιμ[α] ἔ[ν] καὶ ὀμολογοῦμεν παρασχέιν αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἕτερα οἴνου ση[κώματ]α ἔβδ[ο]μήκοντα [c.? γί]νεται ὀ(μοῦ) οὔ(ου)]] σηκ(ώματα) ικθ //, ὄνπερ οἴνον [παρὰ λην]ὸν ἀπὸ [γ]λαύκου ἀδόλου, τῶν διαφερόντων τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφ[υεία παρεχόντων] [ἡμῶν? τὰ] κοῦφ[α], ὀμολογοῦμεν ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῇ μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ῥύσε[ως ἐν τῷ Μεσορῆ μ[ηνι τῆς] σὺν θεῷ ῥύσεως τετάρτης ἰνδ(ικτίον)ο(ς) ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἀνευ πάσης ἀντιλογίας κ[ινδύν]ω τῶν ἡμῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑποκειμένων εἰς τούτο. κύριον τὸ γραμμ(άτιον) ἀπλοῦν γραφὲν καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὠμολογήσαμεν. (m.2) † Αὐρήλιοι Ἀπολλῶς υἱὸς Ἀβρααμίου καὶ Ἀτρῆς υἱὸς Φιβ οἱ προγεγραμμένοι πεποιήμεθα τούτο τὸ γραμματίον τῶν τοῦ οἴνου τριακοσίων εἴκοσι ἐννέα γεουχικῶν καὶ ἀποδόσομεν ἐν τῇ προθ(εσμιά) καὶ στοιχεῖ ἡμῶν πάντα ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Βίκτηρ υἱὸς Φιλοξένου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμ(άτων) ὄντων.

(vac.)

* di emu Victoros etelioti signs †

Back, downwards along the fibres (m.1?):

+ γρ(αμμάτιον) γεν[όμε]ν(ον) π[αρ]ὰ Ἀπολλῶτος κ[αὶ] Ἀτρῆτος ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Πέραν Μερ[μέρθων]

2 ἰδ̄ 3 δ after Πα[χ]ων is now lost but can be read on the archival photograph 3 [ι]νδ̄
 4 φλαουῖω 6 ἰδιω 10 ὑπερφυεῖαῦπερ 12 ὑμετεραῦπερφ[13 ζηκτκθ//
 14 Ι. γλεύκουσ ὑμετερα 16 ἰνδ̄ 17 ὑπαρχοντωνὑποκειμενων γραμμ̄ 18,
 21 ὕιοσ 19 ν of προγεγραμμενοι corr. from ρ Ι. γραμμάτιον 20 προθ̄ 21 προκ
 ὑπερ αγραμμ̄ 23 γβγε[ομε]ν̄ κτημ̄

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master Flavius Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 29, under the consuls for the 14th time after the consulship of Flavius Basilus, *vir clarissimus*, Pachon 4, indiction 3, in the city of Oxyrhynchus.

‘To Flavius Apion the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius*, landowner also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies to his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), we, Aurelii Apollon, son of Abraamius, mother N.N., and Hatres, son of Phib, mother . . . , both originating from the holding Peran Mermerthon, property of your excellency, of the Oxyrhynchite nome, registered farmers of yours, greetings.

‘We acknowledge that we are in debt and owe to your excellence on account of the arrears(?) of the flow of wine of the present third indiction . . . to you, two hundred and fifty-nine *dipla* of wine. And we received from the subordinates of your excellence one gold solidus and we agree to provide to you on account of this an additional seventy *sekomata* of wine . . . , grand total 329 *sekomata* of wine; which wine we agree to return to you, with our flow as well, at the winepress from the unadulterated must, the subordinates of your excellency providing to us(?) the empty jars, in the month of Mesore of the (D.V.) flow of the fourth indiction, without delay and without any dispute, at the risk of our property which is pledged to this end. The deed, written in a single copy, is normative, and in reply to the formal question we assented.’

(2nd hand) ‘We, Aurelii Apollon, son of Abraamius, and Hatres, son of Phib, the aforementioned, have made this deed of the three hundred and twenty-nine estate(-*sekomata*), and we shall return (them) on the appointed day, and everything satisfies us as aforementioned. I, Victor, son of Philoxenus, wrote on their behalf as they are illiterate.’

‘Completed through me, Victor.’

Back. (1st hand?) ‘Deed made by Apollon and Hatres from the holding Peran Mermerthon . . .’

1–3 For the conversion of the date and the restoration of the dating formula, see Bagnall and Worp, *CSBE*² 150, 207, 252. The reckoning of the post-consulate of Fl. Basilus follows the ‘old style’, counting the first year after his consulate (542) as ‘p.c. year 1’ (rather than ‘year 2’ as in the so-called ‘style nouveau’); cf. above, **5122** 3 n.

4–5 The addressee of the contract is Apion II, consul in 539 (d. 578), on whom see J. Gascou, *T&MB* 9 (1985) 65–6 = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 188–90; J. Beaucamp, *RÉByz* 59 (2001) 165–78; P. Oxy. LXX pp. 78–9 and **4788** introd. For his titulature, see R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* (2001) 60–61.

5–6 διὰ Μηνᾶ . . . ἐνοχῆν. For the formula to fit line 5 the words ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος must have been abbreviated, as in e.g. PSI III 179.10 (602; BL X 236) and LVIII **3959** 6 (620). These examples are admittedly late, but there are earlier instances of προσπορίζοντος alone abbreviated προσπορίζ: I **134** 12 (569), P. Iand. III 48.9 (582). While possible, the latter abbreviation alone does not seem sufficient for the space available.

8 ἀπὸ κτημάτος Πέραν Μερμέρθων. Μερμερθα/Μερμέρθων is a village in what was formerly the southeastern corner of the Upper Toparchy and on the right bank of the ‘Canal of Apollophanes’ (in the fourth century it was placed in the first pagus); see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) 12, on the basis of SB XIV 12108. Πέραν, which perhaps need not be

capitalized, implies that the vineyard worked by the two labourers was ‘opposite’ Mermertha, i.e. probably across the canal on its left bank; cf. P. Amh. II 149.5–6 (VI) ἐποικίου Νήσου Λαχανίας πέραν τῆς Ὀξυρρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλεως, i.e. on the right bank of the Bahr Yusuf, and LXX 4780 4–5 (457?) ἐποικίου Φλώρου Πέρα (l. πέραν?) τῆς [αὐτῆς πόλ]εως (see n. ad loc.). This κτήμα is attested also in XIX 2244 8, an account from the Apion archive that should be dated to 528, 543, or 558 (see N. Gonis, *ZPE* 150 (2004) 201) and in which a labourer from Mermertha is said to work on the μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Βελαρίνου τοῦ δικαίου Πέρα Μερμέρθων τοῦ κτήμ(ατος).

κτήματ[ος τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυείας τοῦ Ὀξυρρυγγ(ίτου) νομοῦ. This phrase, indicating the land’s ownership by the Apions, usually characterizes ἐποίκια, but is never attested with κτήματα. The latter are instead qualified by the different formula (also widely attested for ἐποίκια) διαφέροντος τῆ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυεία (τοῦ Ὀξυρρυγγίτου νομοῦ), c.g. SB XII 11231.2 (549), I 135 14 = W. *Chr.* 384 (579). This variation probably results from a desire to avoid the awkward expression κτήματος . . . κτήματος.

10 ὑπέρ . [c.4] . . ῥύεως οἴ[ου]. Before the lacuna only a faint trace of an oblique ascending from left to right is visible, but it is unclear how far it extended as the surface is abraded. The most suitable letter is ε; ζ and c may be considered, but seem less likely. After the lacuna two small traces at line level, a right arc followed by a left arc. ξ[χθέε]ως (‘arrears’) would fit the traces and space well and would supply adequate sense; for ἔχθεεις οἴνου, cf. P. Abinn. 75.1 (c.340–48; BL VIII 2), P. Princ. II 88.1 (v), XVI 2051 iii 16–20 (VI/VII).

τῆς παρούσης [τρ]ίτης [ἰνδ(ικτίον)ο(ς)]. Here and at 16 the scribe uses the ‘fiscal’ indiction beginning on 1 May = Pachon 6, the date of the *praedelegatio* or preliminary tax schedule, which was commonly employed for the reckoning of crops and taxes in the Oxyrhynchite nome; see *CSBE*² 32. The ‘present third indiction’ thus refers to the produce of the previous Julian year, i.e. the vintage of summer 554.

11 αὐτῆ. The pronoun is probably an indirect object of a passive participle at the end of 10, e.g. τοῦ διαπραθέντος (sc. οἴνου); cf. VIII 1131 6 (VI; see BL X 141), LVIII 3954 28 (611).

οἴνον διπ[λᾶ]. A διπλοῦν was a ‘double-jar’ of variable capacity, which here must have been equated with the estate-*sekoma* decanting measure mentioned below at 13 (and implicitly at 20; see n.), as is the case in XIV 1720 5 (VI; see BL II 102) and P. Wash. Univ. II 105.3–4 (VI/VII; see BL X 284).

11–12 [παρὰ τῶν δια]φ[ε]ρ[όντων τῆ] ὑμετέρα ὑπερφ[υεία]. The restorations here and at 14 are not completely certain, but are based on a common idiom in contracts of the estate for designating subordinates acting on behalf of the Apion family, e.g. P. Lond. III (p. 278) 776.11 (552), LVIII 3958 16 (614). *προσηκόντων* could substitute for *διαφερόντων* in such expressions, e.g. LXIII 4397 94–5 (545), P. Iand. III 48.15–16 (582), I 138 18–19 = M. *Chr.* 352 (610/11), but it would not suit the two surviving traces here (both tips of descenders).

12 ξ[ν]. An oblique ascending from left to right like that of ε or c. The restoration of ξ rather than another number is supported by the singular ὑπέρ τούτου further in the line.

καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν παραχεῖν] αὐτῆ ὑπέρ τούτου. The formula καὶ ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ/τούτου (αὐτῶν/τούτων) ὁμολογῶ παραχεῖν *vel sim.* occurs in a number of Oxyrhynchite sales on delivery; cf. e.g. I 134 23 (569), P. Mich. XV 743.13–14 (622?; see N. Gonis, *ZPE* 150 (2004) 198), P. Michael. 35 fr. B.4–5 (after 642; see N. Gonis, *ZPE* 153 (2005) 171), P. Wisc. I 11.17–18 (VI).

12–13 Assuming an eight-*sextarius sekoma* (cf. below, 20 n.), seventy *sekomata* are equivalent to 560 *sextarii*. The price of one solidus places the sale just beyond the lower end of the range of attested prices in sales of wine on delivery (c.235–542 *sextarii* per solidus; see A. Jördens, P. Heid. V 359 introd., and N. Kruit, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 182–3).

14 ὄνπερ οἴνον [παρὰ λην]ὸν ἀπὸ [γ]λαύκου (l. γλεύκου) [ἀδόλου]. This phrase is common in repayment clauses of Oxyrhynchite sales of wine on delivery; for instances, see A. Jördens, P. Heid. V p. 323 n. 227.

[παρὰ λην]όν. A ληνός is properly a ‘treading/pressing floor or platform’, but the term could also refer synecdochically to the wine-making equipment as a whole (‘winepress’, ‘vat’, ‘winery’); see P. Mayerson, *ZPE* 131 (2000) 161–5 (contra N. Kruit, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 268–9). The more general meaning is obviously intended here.

ἀπό [γ]λαύκου (l. γλεύκου) [ἀδόλου. Apparently, the phrase means that the wine is to be delivered unfermented, i.e. as must; see P. Mayerson, *BASP* 36 (1999) 123–8. The scribal mistake is also found in XLIX **3512** 14 (492), P. Flor. I 65.8 (Oxy.; 570/71), and P. Mich. XI 608.9 (Oxy., see BL IX 162; vi) κλαύγου; cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 233–4.

15 παρεχόντων [ἡμῶν? τὰ] κοῦφα[α. For a discussion of the term κοῦφα, ‘empty jars’, see P. Mayerson, *BASP* 34 (1997) 47–52. The clause κοῦ (or honorific title) παρέχοντος τὰ κοῦφα following the guarantee of the wine’s quality is a typical condition of repayment in Oxyrhynchite sales on delivery; for instances see Jördens, P. Heid. V p. 324 n. 235. ἡμῶν is a stopgap as τὰ alone could not fill the whole lacuna; the personal pronoun, however, is unparalleled in this clause. Alternatively restore [τὰ καινό]κοῦφα (R.-L. Chang), which is also unattested in this context.

μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ῥύσε[ωσ. For an interpretation of this phrase, see the article cited in the introd. ἡ ἡμῶν ῥύσις seems to refer to the share of the vintage due to the estate (the ‘rent’), which the γεωργοί undertake to deliver together with the wine sold in advance from their surplus. Cf. XVI **1859** 3 (vi/vii), where a *chartularius* requests the *antigeouchos* to allow some labourers two additional days ἕως οὗ πληρώσουσιν τὴν γεουχικὴν ῥύσιν αὐτῶν’.

16 τῆς] ἐν θεῶ ῥύσεως τετάρτης ἰνδικτίον)ο(ς). In referring to the harvest of the coming indiction, ἐν θεῶ usually qualifies ἰνδικτίονος/ἐπινεμήσεως rather than ῥύσεως; cf. SPP VIII 1203.1 (Ars.; v/vi) and XX 241.1 (?; vi/vii) for a similar unusual placement, but at the head of accounts. The fourth ‘fiscal’ indiction began on 1 May 555 (cf. 10 n.).

17 κ[ινδύν]ω τῶν ἡμῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑποκειμένων εἰς τοῦτο. For instances of this clause in relation to ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί, see LXX **4794** 19–21 n.

20 γεουχικῶν. Supply σηκωμάτων; cf. XVI **1896** 19 (577) οἴνου γεουχικὰ σηκώματα ὀκτάξιστα (also in the endorsement on the back), **3512** 11–12 (492) οἴν[ο]ν σηκωμάτων τῶ γεουχικῶ σηκώ[ματ]ι. The ‘estate-*sekoma*’ ‘was the estate’s or owner’s measuring instrument . . . used to decant wine from storage jars’ (P. Mayerson, *BASP* 35 (1998) 155; cf. idem, *BASP* 38 (2001) 97–101, esp. 98). The capacity of the *sekoma* was variable, usually consisting of 5, 6, or 8 *xestai/sextarii* (1 *sextarius* = c.0.5 l.). From other documents of the Apion archive, it seems that the estate used the *sekoma* of 8 *sextarii*; see T. M. Hickey, *A Public ‘House’ but Closed* (Diss. Chicago 2001) 291, and cf. **1896** 19 cited above.

22 *Victoros*. This notary also appends his signature in XIX **2238** 29 (551) = *Byz. Not.* Oxy. 15.1.1 (Tafel 45). He is probably to be identified with Victor, son of Philoxenus, who writes the subscription for Apollos and Hatres (21). Notaries commonly write on behalf of illiterates (cf. e.g. LXX **4794** 23 n., **4797** 20–21 n., **4800** 19 n.), but they do not usually specify their patronymic as Victor does here.

5124. LOAN OF MONEY

97/156(d)

7.6 × 30.5 cm

20 March c.579–95

A loan contract written along the fibres on a long narrow column. It is nearly complete, missing only a few lines from the top containing the dating formula. The margins on the right, left, and bottom are minimal but regular. On the back a one-line endorsement runs downward parallel to the fibres. The date of the document can be roughly set within the years 579–95 thanks to the subscription by the well-attested Oxyrhynchite notary Anastasius, who was active in this period (see 30 n.).

Theodora, servant (*παιδίσκη*) of the *gloriosissimus illustris* Paulus, contracts from Mariam, another servant, the small loan of one-third of a solidus. The repayment date, as often in Byzantine loans, is left to the discretion of the lender, and the interest rate is clearly usurious (see 21–3 n.). For a list of loans involving women, see J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance* (1992) ii 417–20 (creditors), 431–5 (debtors). The table opposite is a list of Oxyrhynchite money loans from the sixth and seventh centuries (excluding ‘sales on delivery’ and so-called ‘loans’ *λόγω προχρείας*, for which see A. Jördens, P. Heid. V pp. 271–84, 296–341, as well as ‘sales on credit’, for which see **5119** introd.).

The document contributes to the prosopography of the aristocracy of sixth-century Oxyrhynchus outside the overrepresented Apion family, on which see the synopsis of J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (2001) 149–52, and G. Ruffini, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt* (2008) chap. 1. Theodora’s (and possibly also Mariam’s) master, Paulus, may be identical to the man whose heirs appear in XVI **2020** 26 (VI) *δ(ιὰ) κληρονόμων Παύλου ἐνδοξότατου* and the *ἐνδοξότατος κόμης* of the same name mentioned in VIII **1165** 10 (VI; see BL VII 135). **2020**, which implies that Paulus was dead, has been assigned on prosopographical grounds to the 580s (see J. Gasco, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 48 n. 277 = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 170 n. 275), so that if the above identification holds, the date range of **5124** can be further narrowed to the late 570s/early 580s.

<i>Document</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Interest</i>
XVI 1971 (v/vi; cf. BL X 145)	6 sol. + 1 ¼ car. publ. stand.	no details preserved
LXVIII 4702 (520)	no details preserved	no details preserved
PSI VIII 964 (520/21?)	2 sol. priv. stand.	with 12% interest
LXXII 4921 (523)	<i>n</i> sol. priv. stand.	no details preserved
SB XVI 12472 (525/6)	4 sol. minus 16 car. priv. stand.	with 12% interest
XLVII 3355 (535)	2 sol. minus <i>n</i> car.	use of room in place of interest
LXXVII 5122 (552)	13 sol. stand. of Oxyrhynchus	no mention of interest
XVI 1970 (554)	4 sol. priv. stand.	no mention of interest
XVI 1972 (560)	no details preserved	no details preserved
PSI XIV 1427 (565; BL VIII 411)	4 sol. priv. stand.	with 'usual' interest
LXXI 4835 (574)	1 sol. minus 5 car.	no mention of interest
P. Laur. III 75 (574; BL VIII 165-6)	1 sol. priv. stand.	interest in kind
VII 1042 (578)	½ sol. priv. stand.	with interest (rate not specified)
LXXVII 5124 (c.579-95)	½ sol. priv. stand.	with interest (see 21-3 n.)
P. CtYBR inv. 4654 (c.579-95; ed. <i>ZPE</i> 160 (2007) 224-6)	no details preserved	no details preserved
P. Ant. II 103 (580; BL VII 6)	2 sol. minus 8 car.	no details preserved
XVI 1892 (581)	3 sol. priv. stand.	no mention of interest
LXXII 4922 (582)	no details preserved	interest in kind(?)
LXXI 4837 (582/3)	4(?) sol. priv.(?) stand.	no details preserved
P. Warr. 10 (591/2)	7 sol. priv. stand.	interest in kind
P. Münch. III 98 (593/4)	2 sol. + 4 car. priv. stand.	interest-free (but see 26 n.)
LXVI 4535 (600)	6 sol. minus 24 car. priv. stand.	no mention of interest
LVIII 3938 (601)	3 sol.	no details preserved
PSI I 63 (624?)	1 sol. €̄c 17 car. priv. stand.	no mention of interest

- .[...]. . . . [.
 Φ]αμενωθ κδ, [ἰνδ(ικτίονος) η.
 Θεοδώρα παιδίσκη Παύλο[υ
 τοῦ ἐνδοξ[οτ(άτου)] ἰλλουστρίου
 5 θυγάτηρ Ἀμ[αντί]ου
 μητρὸς Ἀντι . . . ης
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν
 πόλεως σο[ῖ] Μαριαμ
 καὶ αὐτῇ παιδίσκη
 10 θυγατρὶ Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ τῆς
 αὐτῆς πόλεως, χαίρειν.
 ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι
 παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χρήξει εἰ[ῖ]ς
 ἀνα[γ]καίαις μου χ[ρείας
 15 χρυσοῦ νομ[ι]σμα[τίου
 τρίτον ἰδιωτικῶ [ζ]υ[γῶ
 ὑ[ο]μιτ(ευόμενον), γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισματίου) (τρίτον) ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ),
 καὶ τοῦτο ὁμολογῶ παρασχεῖν
 σοι ὅπηνίκα ἂν ἀπολαβεῖν
 20 βουληθείης ἀνυπερθέτως
 καὶ λόγῳ τόκου αὐτοῦ κατὰ
 μῆνα ἕκαστον κερατίου
 τὸ τέταρτ[ον] ζυγῶ Ἀλ]εξανδρ(είας).
 κύριον τὸ γραμμάτ(ιον) [ἀπλ(οῦν)
 25 γραφ(έν) καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρ[(ωτηθεῖσα) ὠμολ(όγησα).
 (m.2) Θεοδώρα ἡ προ[γεγραμ(μένη)
 στοιχεῖ μοι ὡς προ[ό]κ[ε]ιται.
 Ἀναστάσιος ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) [αὐτῆς
 ἀγραμμ(άτου) οὔσης.
 30 ✠ di emu Anast(asiu) eteliothh +

Back, downwards along the fibres:

- (m.1?) +] γρ(αμμάτιον) Θεοδώρας παιδίσκ(ης) θυγατρ(ός) Ἀμαντίου ἀπὸ τῆς
 Ὀξυρυγγ(ιτῶν) πό[λ(εως)] (vac.) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισματίου) (τρίτου)
 ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ).

4 ἰλλούτριου 16 ἰδιωτικῶ 17 ῥ[ο]μιτῆς γεχρῆν̄γ/ιδ̄ζυγῆς 20 ἀνῦπερθετως
 23]εξανδρ 24 γραμματ̄ 25 γραφ 28 ψ 29 αγραμμῆς 31 γρ πα-
 δικῆθυγατρ οξυρυχῆς χρῆν̄γ/ιδ̄ζυγῆς

‘. . . Phamenoth 24, indiction *n*. Theodora, servant of Paulus, the *gloriosissimus illustris*, daughter of Amantius, mother Anti—, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, to you, Mariam, also servant, daughter of Apollos, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you on loan for my pressing needs one-third of a gold solidus in current coin at the private standard, total $\frac{1}{3}$ gold sol. at the private standard; and I agree to hand this over to you without delay whenever you wish to recover it, and (I agree to hand over) on account of monthly interest on it one-quarter of a carat at the standard of Alexandria. This deed, written in a single copy, is normative, and upon being asked the formal question, I gave my assent.’

(Second hand) ‘Theodora, the aforementioned—(this deed) suits me as stated above. I, Anastasius, wrote on her behalf because she is illiterate.’

‘Completed through me, Anastasius.’

Back (first hand?): ‘Deed of Theodora, servant, daughter of Amantius, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, of $\frac{1}{3}$ gold sol. at the private standard.’

3 παιδικῆ. This ambiguous term, like the related words *παῖς*, *παιδίον*, and *παιδάριον*, could theoretically denote either a slave or a servant of free status; see J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme* ii 58 n. 38 (with further bibliography), and cf. LXXI 4835 9 n. To the four instances cited by Beaucamp from the Byzantine period, add LXVIII 4680 2 (419) and CPR XIX 19.2 (vi/vii). In some papyri, including those just cited, the context does not help to identify the status of the *παιδικαί* in question. The *παιδικαί* in PSI VI 709.6–9, 27 (566), BGU III 725.9–10 (618), and 5124, however, are given patronymics and therefore are unlikely to be slaves (so Beaucamp). Like the present document, BGU 725 is also a loan contracted by a *παιδικῆ*, but there she acts with her husband (a bird-keeper). Free or not, these *παιδικαί* often serve individuals of high status and large estates, e.g. the ‘Apion’ estate in PSI VIII 957.5 (504; see BL XI 248) *ταῖς γεουχ(ικαῖς) παιδικ(αις)* and VI 709.6–8 *παιδικῆ τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου . . . Ἀπίωνος*, an Arsinoite *vir gloriosissimus* and *stratelates* in BGU 725.9–11, a senior Oxyrhynchite *curialis* in 4680 1; CPR XIX 19 also probably relates to an estate.

3–4 Παύλο[υ] τοῦ ἐνδοξ[οτ(άτου)] ἰλλούτριου. For a possible identification of Paulus, see above, introd. On the designation *ἰλλούτριος*, which first appears in the mid sixth century and whose ‘exact purport is unclear’, see LXIX 4756 5 n. and Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme* ii 12 n. 46. Gascou, *Fiscalité* 49, has now retracted as ‘une idée aventurée’ his oft-cited equation of *ἰλλούτριος* with the function of pagarch in *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 69 n. 2.

6 Ἀντι . . . ης. The damaged traces do not suit any of the relevant female names listed in Preisigke’s *Namenbuch*, Foraboschi’s *Onomasticon*, or the Heidelberg *Wörterliste*. I have considered *Ἀντιόπης*, a rare name attested in Egypt only in CPR VIII 53.8 (v) *Ἀντιόπι* (l. -η), but there seem to be too many traces here, and the letter before η is more like c or γ.

9 καὶ αὐτῇ παιδικῆ. Since there is no further specification, Mariam is presumably also a servant of the house of Paulus.

15–16 χρυσοῦ νομ[ι]σμα[τίου] τρίτον ἰδιωτικῶ [ζ]υγῶ. Loans involving less than a solidus are rare in the papyri. Of the eighteen other sixth- and seventh-century Oxyrhynchite money loans in which the sum lent is preserved (see list in introd.), only VII 1042 (578) is comparable; its object is likewise $\frac{1}{3}$ of a solidus at the ‘private’ standard with an undefined interest. The *ἰδιωτικὸν ζυγόν* is the particular weight standard of Oxyrhynchus and has a typical value of 1 solidus minus 4 carats. It is notable, however, that the interest in 21–3 is stated according to the standard of Alexandria. There is still no universally accepted explanation of the nature of the different local monetary standards (*ζυγά*)

in use in sixth- and seventh-century Egypt; see the literature cited in LXXII **4930** 13–16 n., to which add now F. Carlà, *L'oro nella tarda antichità: Aspetti economici e sociali* (2009) 367–78.

18–20 For another loan with both interest and an undetermined repayment date, cf. e.g. P. Harr. I 86 (Oxy.; 444).

21 *λόγω τόκου*. This is the first occurrence of this phrase in an Oxyrhynchite loan. According to a search of the DDbDP, it is attested predominantly in documents from the Arsinoite nome.

21–3 *κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον κερατίου τὸ τέταρτον ζυγῶ Ἀλ]εξανδρ(είας)*. The interest rate of a quarter of a carat per month on the principal of one third of a solidus (= 6²/₃ carats on the Oxyrhynchite standard) is clearly exorbitant and illegal, equivalent to 3.75% per month or 45% per year. The rate is attested elsewhere on different amounts, e.g. P. Flor. III 300 (Herm.; 597), a loan of 1 sol. minus 6 car., and P. Lond. V 1737 (Syene; 613), a loan of 3¹/₃ sol., both of which also exceed the maximum legal interest rate of 8% per year established by Justinian (*Nov.* 136, AD 535); see A. C. Johnson, L. C. Wcst, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (1949) 168, and cf. P. Münch. III 98.26 n.

30 *Anast(asiu)*. This notary, who subscribes on behalf of the illiterate Theodora in 28–9, is well attested in Oxyrhynchite documents from 579 to 595; to the eight instances listed in *Byz. Not.* 78 add LVIII **3933** 40 (588), LXIX **4757** 13, **4758** 11 (date not preserved), LXX **4797** 21 (583), and P. CtYBR inv. 4654 (ed. *ZPE* 160 (2007) 224–6; date not preserved).

31 *Ἀμαντίου*. Cf. 5. Of tau there remains the foot of the upright. Discounting the papyrological instances of Flavius Amantius cos. 345, this is a very rare name in Byzantine Egypt; cf. PSI VIII 956.42 (Oxy.; 567/8) *Ἀ?]μαντίου Ψανκα*]. The form *Ἀμάτιος* was more common in the high imperial period, but is not attested after the fourth century.

A. BENAÏSSA

5125. MEASUREMENT OF A CISTERN

14 1B.221/F(1–2)a

7.5 × 8 cm

Sixth century
Plate XI

The document contains the measurement of a cistern (*λάκκος*) situated in the area of an irrigated farm (*μηχανή*), and placed under the responsibility of two *γεωργοί*; cf. LXVI **4537–8**. The *μηχανή*, called ‘Phaei’, seems to be new (but see below, 2 n.). Unlike **4537** and **4538**, this text contains no reference to the volume and no mention of payment. **5125** is likely to have been produced in a context similar to those of the other two documents, though its exact function is unclear.

The width (‘upper’ and ‘lower’) and depth of the cistern are given, but not the length. If the reservoir in **5125** was of a rectangular shape, as in **4537** and **4538**, its exact capacity cannot be established. Otherwise, it would have had the shape of a truncated cone, and the ‘width’ would correspond to the diameter (we owe this suggestion to F. Morelli); in that case, if we reckon with a cubit of 52.5 cm and $\pi = c.3.14$, the volume would be 98.37 m³, i.e., c.25¹/₈ naubia (1 naubion = 27 cubic cubits).

The text is written across the fibres. The back is blank apart from a few faded traces.

† μέτρης(ις) τοῦ καθαρισθ(έντος)
 λάκκου ἐν τῇ μηχ(ανῇ) 'Φαεὶ' ὑπὸ
 Ἰωάννην καὶ Φοιβάμμωνα
 γεωρ(γούς), οὔ(τωσ).
 5 ἄνω πλάτος πῆχ(εις) ιγ
 κάτω πλάτος πῆχ(εις) ια
 τὸ βάθος πῆχ(εις) σ.

1 μέτρης? καθαρισ^θ 2 μη^x ὑπο 3 ἰωαννην: ω post corr. 4 γεωρρ^ς ου—
 5 πη^x 6, 7 πηχ[?] 7 horizontal stroke under the cap of σ: an accident?

'Measurement of the cleaned cistern in the irrigated area 'Phaci' in the charge of Ioannes and Phoebammon, farmers, as follows:

'Upper width 13 cubits.
 'Lower width 11 cubits.
 'Depth 6 cubits.'

1 μέτρης(ις). In **4537** and **4538** the abbreviation was resolved to give the plural. The scribe of this document indicates the abbreviation of the plural form in 4 by doubling the last letter, which he does not do here, so that the singular seems preferable (the abbreviation of πῆχεις in 6 and 7 without duplication of the chi is standard).

2 Φαεὶ. A μηχανή of this name is not known otherwise. A village called Φαι is attested for the second century in XLII **3063** 3 (and perhaps as early as the third century BC), while PSI I 77.13 (551?) mentions an ἔδαφος called Φαεὶ near the village of Spania; see A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* s.v.

C. LUZ

5126. LIST OF CLOTH ITEMS

6 1B.17/III(a)

16.8 × 24.1 cm

Early seventh century
 Plate XII

Much of this list is taken up with bed linen. Towards the end (12–14), the scope appears to be widened beyond that given in the heading. If the entries in 13 and 14 are taken as arrows and helmets, this could be a list of a soldier's luggage, but this sits oddly with the reference to the little girl's linen in the final entry. Although it would be surprising to find extraneous items in a list specified as one of cloth items (contrast the more inclusive title of SB XVI 12941), it may be worth noting that when cloth items are listed with household utensils or furniture, the clothing and soft furnishings are often listed first, as e.g. in I **109**, VI **921**, or P. Prag. II 176.

The text is written in a large, upright hand that recalls those of P. Amh. II 157 (= *GBEBP* 43a) of 612 and LV **3797** of 624; these are the precursors of the minuscule used in official lists and other documents after the Islamic conquest. Some

words written in full carry redundant indicators of abbreviation; see *καγία ρουσαῖα* (5), and *καινούργια* (8).

A sheet-join is visible on the writing surface about 6.6 cm from the left-hand edge, and another just to the left of the right-hand edge. The back is blank apart from a series of indistinct traces of uncertain significance in the region of the central sheet-join.

	†	
	‡	
	‡ γνῶ(σις) ἱμα(τίων)	
	οὔ(τωσ).	
	ῥάχν(αι)	β
5	καγία ρουσαῖα	β
	ἀκκουβιτ(άλια)	β
	κινδ(όνια) μεσοτριβα(κὰ)	γ
	ὄμο(ίως) κινδ(όνια) καινούργια	δ
	κάβαν(ον?)	α
10	προσκεφάλ(αιον)	α
	ὄμο(ίως) προσκεφάλ(αια)	β
	βιβλι()	α
	καγίττ(αι?)	ν
	κασιδ(ια)	β
15	ὀθόν(ι-) τη() μικρ(α) μαυρ[]α	

2 ὦν ἱμῖα ^{αα}	3 ο-	4 ραχίν'	5 καγί ^α ρουσαῖ ^α	6 ακκουβιττ	7 κινδδ'
8, 11 ομ ^ο	8 κινδδ' καινουργί ^α	9 καβανς	10, 11 προσκεφαλ ^α	12 βιβλιε	
13 καγιττ	14 κασιδδ'	15 οθονςτ ^η μικρ			

'List of cloth items, as follows:

blankets	2;
russet-coloured blankets	2;
bed-covers	2;
sheets, half-worn out	3;
other sheets, brand-new	4;
towel	1;
cushion	1;
other cushions	2;
book(?)	1;
arrows(?)	50;
helmets(?)	2;
linen clothes of/for the little . . .	[]1.'

2-3 For the heading *γνῶσις ἱματίων*, cf. XVI 2054, CPR XIX 62.2, P. Wash. Univ. II 104.1, SB XVI 12250.7, 12942.2, XXVI 16512.1-2, SPP XX 245.1-2.

4 *ράχν(αι)*. For *ράχνη*, 'blanket', see esp. LIX **4004** 14 n. The context here perhaps favours a reference to bedding rather than clothing. The gender of this noun has been debated, but it is clearly feminine; see **4004** 14 n. The same applies to occurrences of the term in Coptic (the entry in Förster, *WB* s.v. ?*ράχνος*, τὸ, should be corrected; in I. Bawit Chap. 48.4 *ΡΑΧ(Ν)Ε · Β*, we have a phonetic spelling for *ΡΑΧΝΑΙ*, not *ΡΑΧΝΗ*).

5 *καγία*. The term *καγίον* is a diminutive not of *κάγος* (as given in *WB* and LSJ) but rather of *κάγη*, 'packsaddle', and probably refers to a kind of carpet or blanket that covers a *κάγη* (or *κάγμα*), or is used as a makeshift saddle; see P. Heid. VII p. 182 n. 24, adding PSI Congr. XXI 18 = SB XXIV 15961.8, 9.

ρόυσαῖα. For this adjective (corresponding to Latin *russeus*), see P. Paramone 14.2 n. It also occurs in P. Paramone 14.2 (VI/VII) and P. Apoll. 49.5 (VII) (this is a new reading, kindly communicated by J.-L. Fournet, instead of *ed. pr.*'s *ρούζικοῦ*). *ρούσιος* is more common.

6 *ἀκκουβιτ(άλια)* suits the context better than *ἀκκούβιτ(α)* ('beds'). See *Lex. Lat. Lehnw.* s.v.; Förster, *WB* s.v.; P. Berl. Sarisch. 21.46 n.

7 The expansion *κινδ(όνια)* instead of *κινδ(όνεε)* is suggested by the recurrence of this abbreviated form with *καινούργια* in the next line. This noun indicates various items made of flax, such as curtains, towels, etc.; see LSJ and *WB* s.v.; Förster, *WB* s.vv. *κινδόνιον* and *κινδών*; *Edict. Diocl. pret.* 28.7–36 (p. 275 Lauffer); J. Blinzler, *Philologus* 99 (1955) 158–66; P. Berl. Sarisch. 21.11 n.

μεσοτριβα(κά). The word has occurred only in XIV **1645** 10 (308), as an adjective; see J. Diethart in M. Capasso et al. (edd.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. XIX: 1990) 141 (against LSJ s.v. *μεσοτριβακόν*). It is recorded in Du Cange, *Glos. Gr. s.v. τριβακός* (*pannosus*), with the Latin equivalent *semivritus*. The variant *μεσοτριβής* occurs in P. Michael. 18 iv 7 (III) τ]απήτιον μικρόν μεσοτριβέε. The corresponding adjective *ἡμιτριβής* occurs in papyri from the third century BC to the fourth century AD; see Diethart, *AnPap* 4 (1992) 57–60.

8 *καινούργια*. This adjective is used for clothes or other textiles in P. Apoll. 104.18, 19, P. Leid. Inst. 13.28, P. Princ. II 82.44, SB XX 14214.4, 6, 8, 14625.6.

9 *κάβαν(ον?)*: or *καβάν(ιον)*, but the latter form is less well attested in papyri. See *Edict. Diocl. pret.* 28.57–74 (pp. 182–3 Lauffer with comm. at p. 276); P. Heid. VII 406.18 n.; Förster, *WB* s.v.

κινδόνεε (or *κινδόνια*) and *κάβανα* are frequently associated in lists of this sort, as in VI **921** 12, 15, XVI **2054** 5–8, P. Coll. Youtie II 95.7–8, P. Princ. II 82.40; cf. also XVI **1843** 19. They may have been related items for bath use.

12 *βιβλι()*: possibly *βιβλί(ον)*, a book rather than a papyrus sheet. The context requires a cloth item, but there is no suitable candidate. The adjective *βιβλινος* or *βύβλινος* is only used of cords: O. Beren. II 131.7, 8 (50–75), BGU II 544.4 (138–61), SB I 1.7, 11, 15, 18 (III); cf. also *παπύρινον ἰκτίον*, 'sail', in P. Cair. Zen. 59566.14–15 (250 BC), and *κόλια παπύρινα*, 'slippers', in XIV **1742** 6 (IV). Hdt. 2.96, Theophr. *CP* 4.8.4, and Plin. *Nat.* 13.72 mention sails made of papyrus, while Theophrastus and Pliny also refer to the use of papyrus for clothing, but without further details; see further N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (1974) 24–9. But we would not expect an adjective on its own here.

13 *καγίττ(αι?)*. This Latin loan-word (< *sagitta*) has not previously occurred in papyri, but it occurs in several sixth-century literary texts, while in earlier documents we find the soldiers called *καγιττάριοι* (last in SPP XX 230.13 of 351); see generally H. Hofmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter im Griechischen bis 600 n. Chr.* (1989) 375. Its presence in a 'list of cloth items' is unexpected, but cf. the likely mention of helmets in the next entry. If we wished to remain in the context of cloth items, we could tentatively read *καγίτ(ια)* and interpret it as a diminutive of *κάγος* (*καγίδιον*, here in phonetic spelling; an *addendum lexicis*), from Latin *sagum*, a large cloak or blanket (see e.g. P. Heid. VII 406.8 (with n.), 11). Another possibility is to read *καγίτ(εε)*, i. *καγίδεε*; cf. Hesych. s. v. *καγίε*: *πήρα*, 'leather pouch'. However, the high number (50) of the items makes these alternatives less likely.

14 *κακίδ(ια)*. A *κακίδιον*, another Latin loanword (< *cassis*), is a 'helmet'; see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ζPE*

69 (1987) 170. This would suit the possible reference to arrows in the previous line, but not the context of a list of cloth items. We have also considered whether this is a diminutive of *κάσ(ς)ος*, a piece of clothing not identical with a *ἱμάτιον* but probably of superior quality, a sort of thick cloak, on which see J. Kramer, *APF* 45 (1999) 196–200.

15 *ὀθόν(ι-)*. For the meaning of *ὀθόνια* in the papyri, see S. Bartina, *Stud. Pap.* 4 (1965) 29–38, who concludes that it was a generic term for linen; P. Heid. VIII 420 fr. E.1 n.; CPR XIX 35.1 n. *ὀθόνια* and *καβάνια* occur together in SB XVI 1249.4, 6, 7, P. Cair. Masp. III 67340.33–4, and SPP III².1 83.4.

τη() μικρ(α) μαυρ[. The sequence could be expanded either as *τη(ς) μικρ(ᾶς)* or *τη̂ μικρ(ᾶ̂)*; the suprascript eta would favour the former option (abbreviation by suspension), but this scribe sometimes adds superfluous abbreviation markers (see above, introd.), and the dative would not be out of place; cf. CPR IX 61.3 (VI/VII [v/vi *ed. pr.*]) *τη̂ κυρ(ᾶ̂) Κοφίᾳ ὀθόν(ια)* (*οθον¹* pap.; *ὀθόνει(α)* *ed. pr.*, but see Taf. 33 [NG]), in another list. *μαυρ[* should be the beginning of a personal name (e.g. *Μαύρ[ας]*); or, perhaps less likely, an adjective qualifying *ὀθόν(ι-)*: *ὀθόν(ια) . . . μαυρ[α]*, ‘dark-coloured linen’ (or ‘Moorish’; cf. SHA XXV 14.9 *purpura Maura*; XXVI 12.1 *ς)tragula Maura*). For another reference to a little girl’s clothing, see P. Tebt. III.2 891.19 (II BC) *χιτώνος τῆς μικρᾶς*.

D. COLOMO
D. MONTSERRAT

INDEXES

Figures in raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Words not recorded in LSJ or its Revised Supplement and previously unattested names and places are asterisked. The article and (in the documentary sections) *καί* have not been indexed.

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Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ **5109** ii 53-8

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θεῶν Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου **5114** 1

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VALERIAN, GALLIENUS AND SALONINUS

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GALLIENUS

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ **5117** 10-14 (year 11)

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- | | |
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<i>χρόνος</i> 5109 ii 72 5114 2 5115 10	<i>χωρίς</i> 5109 ii 31	5123 21 5124 27
		<i>ώςτε</i> 5113 8

XIV. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS

CPR IX 6i.3	5126 15 n.
P. Erl. 70 date	5109 5-6 n.
P. Leit. 13.10-11; 20-21	5107 10-11 n.; 23-4 n.
P. Oxy. LXIII 4393 date	5120 1 n.
SB XVIII 13174 ii 15	5116 6-10 n.

Fragment 5106: A vertical strip of papyrus with Greek text in an ancient script. The text is arranged in approximately 25 lines, starting with a large initial letter at the top. The characters are small and tightly packed.

5106

fr. I



5103

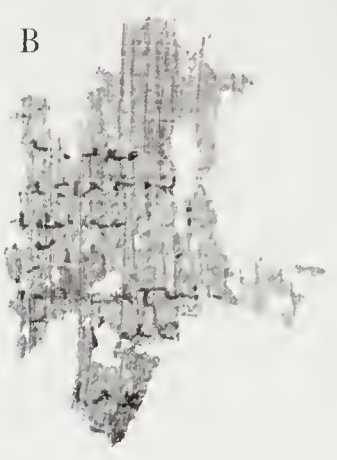
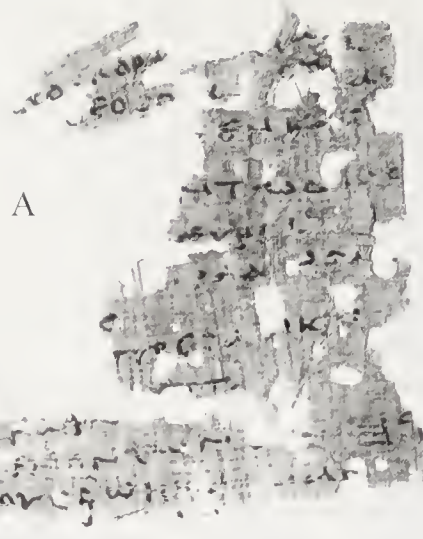
Fragment 5103: A larger, irregularly shaped fragment of papyrus with Greek text. At the top, the text reads 'DEBRE...'. The fragment contains several lines of text in the same ancient script as fragment 5106, though some parts are obscured by damage or overlapping fragments.

Fragment 5107: A small, vertical strip of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text. The text is partially obscured but includes characters like 'ΧΡ', 'ΦΡ', and 'ΩΣ'.

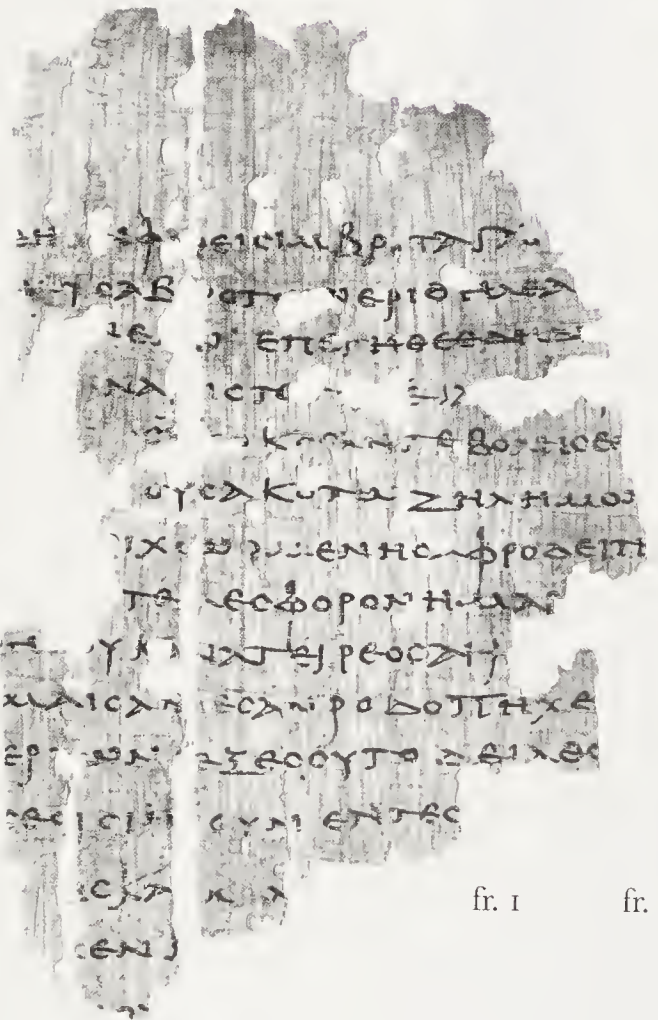
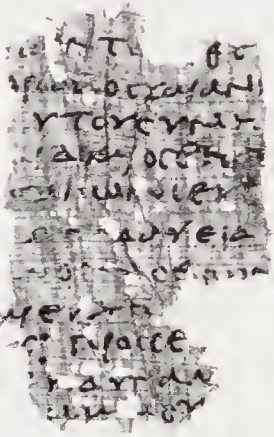
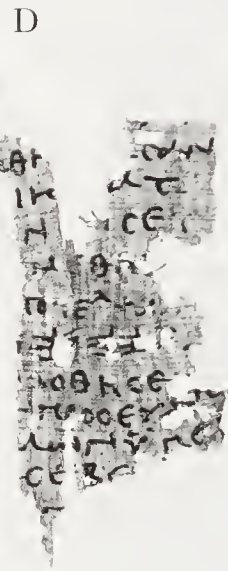
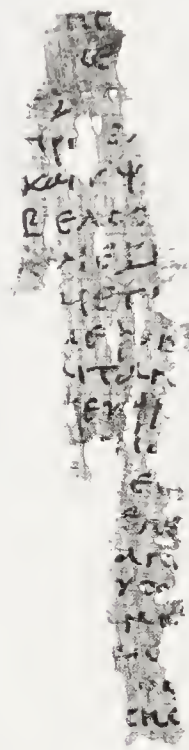
fr. 2

fr. 3

A small, illegible fragment of papyrus or text located near the bottom right of the plate.



5101



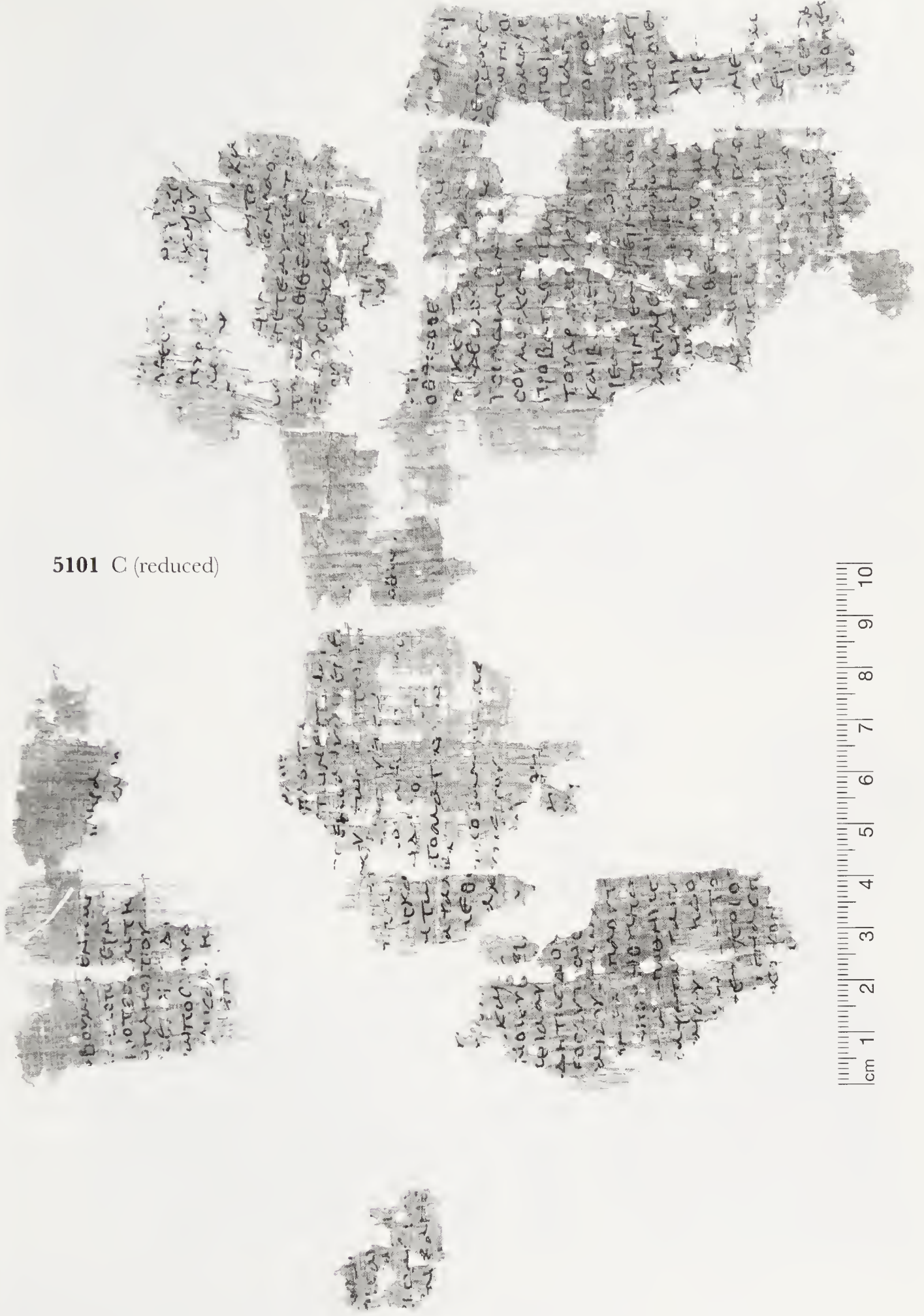
5104

fr. 1

fr. 2



5101 C (reduced)



fr. 1

ΝΑ
 ΔΑ
 ΙΑΜ
 ΕΙΧ
 ΩΝΚ
 ΕΝΘΑΚ
 ΙΕΝΗΜΗΤ
 ΑΠΡΟΠ
 ΗΜΑΘΕ
 ΟΝΤΑΡ
 ΔΕ
 ΕΜΙΔΟ
 ΚΑΝΙ
 ΙΟΙΔΕ
 ΑΟΜ

ΕΡΣΙΝ
 ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤ
 ΟΥΜΟΝ
 ΔΗΛΑΙΧ
 ΕΝΘΑΚ
 ΙΕΝΗΜΗΤ
 ΑΠΡΟΠ
 ΗΜΑΘΕ
 ΟΝΤΑΡ
 ΔΕ
 ΕΜΙΔΟ
 ΚΑΝΙ
 ΙΟΙΔΕ
 ΑΟΜ

fr. 2

ΡΟΝΟΙ
 ΔΤΑ
 ΕΡΕΙ
 ΕΡΕΙ
 ΠΦΙ
 ΟΝΚ
 ΤΡΕΝ
 ΕΙΚ
 ΔΗΡΕ
 ΑΠΑ
 ΜΙ
 ΙΔ
 ΑΙ

5102

fr. 3

ΖΗ
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 ΡΠΛ

Κ
 ΗΧΙΚΟ
 Ε ΤΑΔ
 ΤΑΜΜΑ
 ΤΟΥΔΕ
 ΠΝΟΙΗ
 ΑΤΟΔ
 Γ ΑΡΟ
 ΓΗΤΕ
 ΤΗΣΕΣ



fr. 4

ΕΤΑ
 ΤΟ
 ΑΡΕ
 ΠΑ
 ΝΥΝ
 ΧΡΕ
 ΑΙΜ
 ΥΙΑ
 ΑΡΚ
 ΟΥΓ
 ΤΩΔΕ

fr. 5

ΤΗ
ΟΔΥΜΑ
ΕΚΤΟΥΚΑ
ΠΡΕΜΝΩ
ΟΤΗΣΕΚΕΡ
ΑΜΦΩΧΕΡΟ
ΤΑΝΜΕΝΑ
ΕΥΤΑΝΑΠΑ
ΓΙΝΕΝΕΠΙΟ
ΙΣΠΛΕΘΝ

ΤΕΛΕΦΡ
ΕΠΕΦΟ
ΥΤΙΚΕΡ
ΟΧΟΣΟ
ΔΟΝ
Π

fr. 6

ΝΤΙΡ
ΕΒΡΟ
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ΙΟ

fr. 7

ΤΤΙ
ΑΡΙΝΕΙ
ΒΕΙΑ
ΝΑΓΕ
ΗΝ
ΡΑ

fr. 10

ΑΥΤΟΥΠΡΟ
ΣΑΧΡΑΓΙΟ
ΚΑΤΑΚΟΜΟΝ

fr. 12

5102

fr. 8

ΕΝ
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ΦΡ
ΤΟΝΤΟΥ
ΑΙΤΗ
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ΕΙΣΑΦΟΡΕΓΝ
ΙΣΗΓΡΑΦΕΙΤ
ΕΛ
ΔΕ
ΟΝ

fr. 9

fr. 11

ΑΝΟ
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ΝΥ
Η

fr. 13

ΛΥΓ

fr. 14

ΕΚΤΟΥΑ
ΕΝΑΔΚΑ
ΤΑΔΑΜΙ
ΑΡΤΕΛΩΗ
ΙΤΟΙ

fr. 15

ΤΟ
ΤΑ
ΙΜ
Δ
ΕΥ

fr. 16

ΠΟ
ΙΝΧ
ΟΥΦΕΡ
ΕΠΕΙ
ΥΜΑΤ
ΑΜΦ

fr. 17

ΑΙ
ΤΑ
ΑΜ
ΧΡΥ
ΤΟ
Α
ΗΔ



fr. 18

ΕΓΙΑ
 ΝΖΩΡ
 ΜΥΔΙ
 ΥΠΟΤ
 ΕΑΡΟΣ
 ΚΑΙΧΑ
 ΑΙΚΡΗΤΗ
 ΥΠΕΙ
 ΥΡΕΝ
 ΣΕΚ

fr. 19

ΝΙΚ
 ΤΟΓΕΙ
 ΙΔΡΟΣ
 ΑΔΟΝ
 ΙΟΥΤ

5102

fr. 20

ΕΔ
 ΡΟΝΙ
 ΤΕΤΣΙ
 ΡΥΒ

fr. 21

ΗΙΖ
 ΥΕΝ
 ΕΑ

fr. 22

ΑΝ
 ΝΓΚΙΟΝ



fr. 23

ΚΟΝ
 ΑΚΑΙΑ
 ΥΡΕΝ
 ΑΤΕΙ

fr. 24

ΚΕΝ
 ΜΟΡΣ
 ΟΣ

fr. 25

ΤΠΕ
 ΕΧΗΜ
 ΑΝ
 ΤΟΦΑ

fr. 26

Α
 ΑΤΕ
 ΕΝΕ
 ΟΗΙΟ
 ΡΕΓ
 ΑΥΤ
 ΙΟΤ
 ΙΑΔ
 ΕΗ

fr. 27

ΤΕΙ
 ΣΟΜ
 ΣΙ
 ΣΚΑΝΙ
 ΣΤ
 ΝΙΠΕ
 Δ
 Ε

fr. 28

ΝΑΤ
 ΣΚΑ
 ΙΟΤ
 ΑΑ

fr. 29

ΒΔΙ
 ΙΝΑ
 ΟΟ
 ΑΑ

fr. 30

ΑΜΕ
 ΑΜΙΝΟΥ

fr. 36

Γ
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 Τ
 Τ

fr. 33

ΝΕ
 ΗΡ

fr. 32

ΔΙΑ

fr. 31

ΣΤΑΙ
 Υ

fr. 35

ΤΟΓ
 ΚΑ
 Μ

fr. 34

ΝΗΕ

fr. 37

Ι
 ΚΑ
 Ζ

fr. 38

ΚΤ
 ΥΑ

fr. 39

Α
 Ι

fr. 40

ΙΑ
 ΥΙ
 Υ

fr. 41

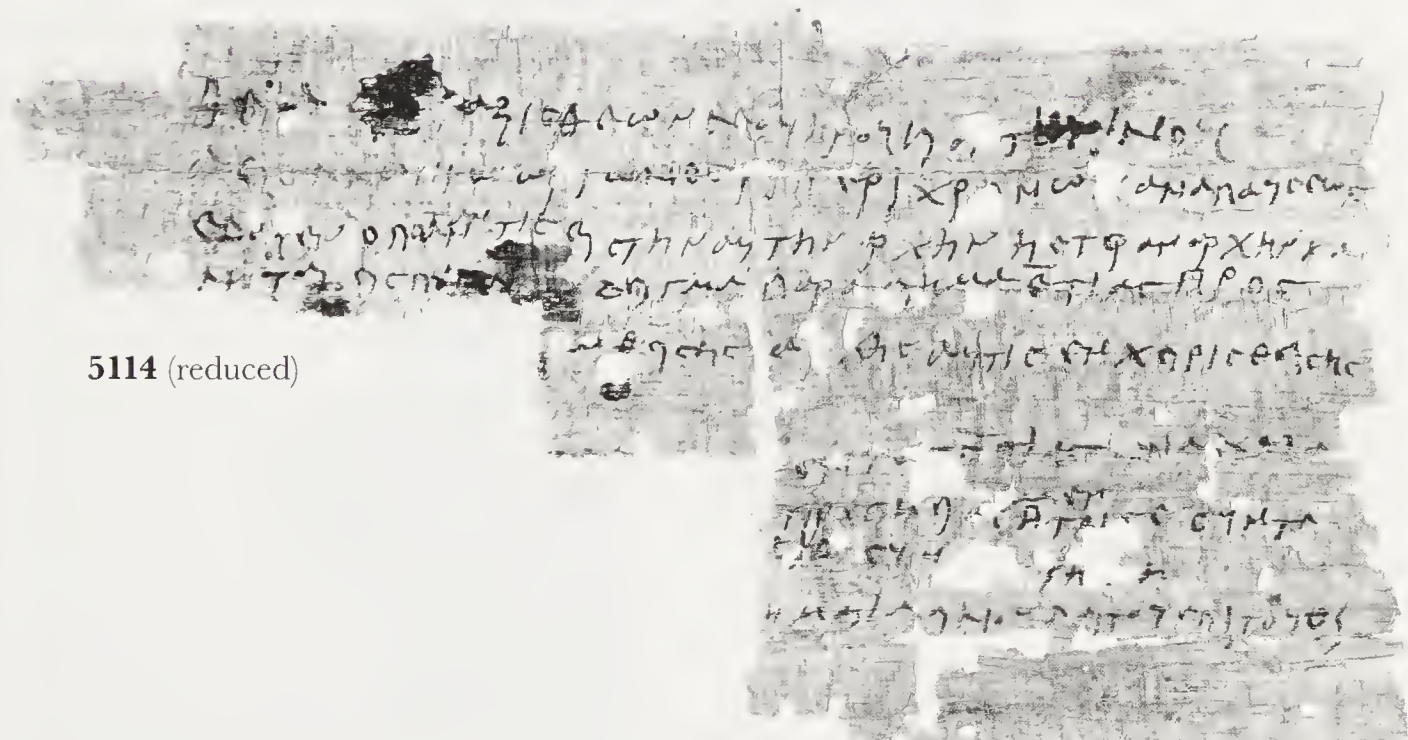
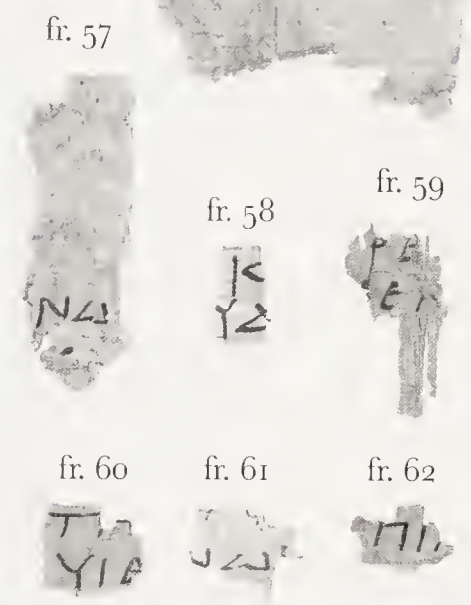
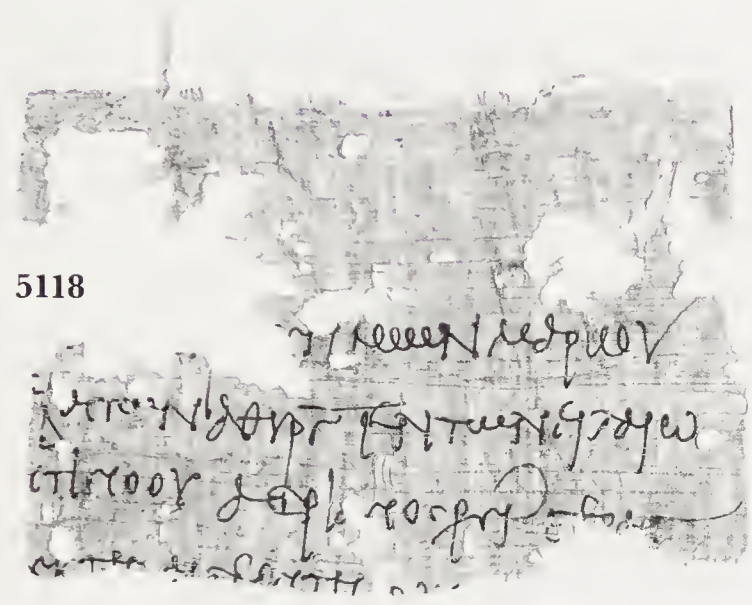
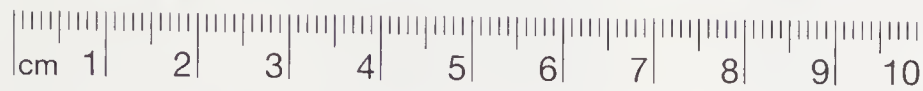
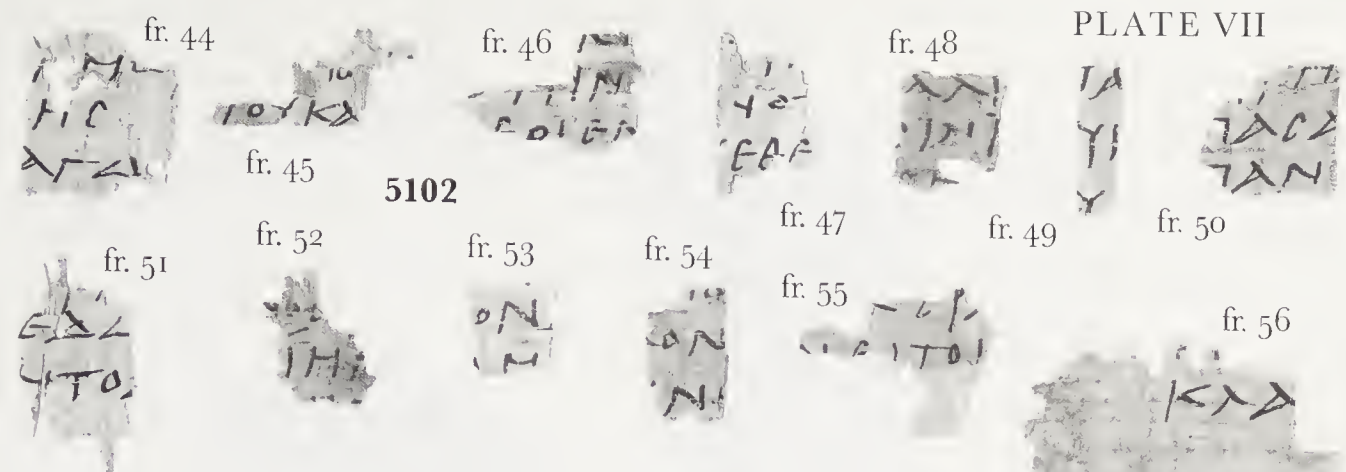
Α
 Α

fr. 42

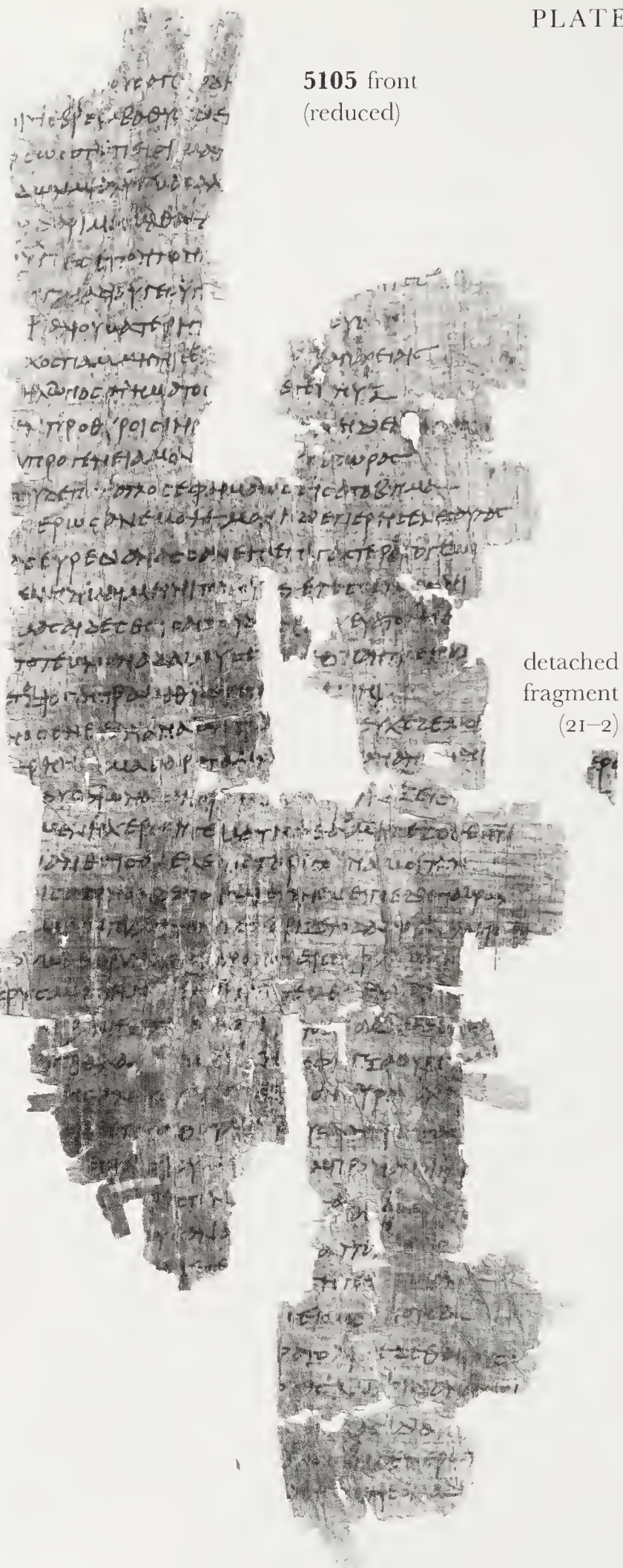
ΟΝ

fr. 43

Α
 Ι
 Υ



5105 front
(reduced)

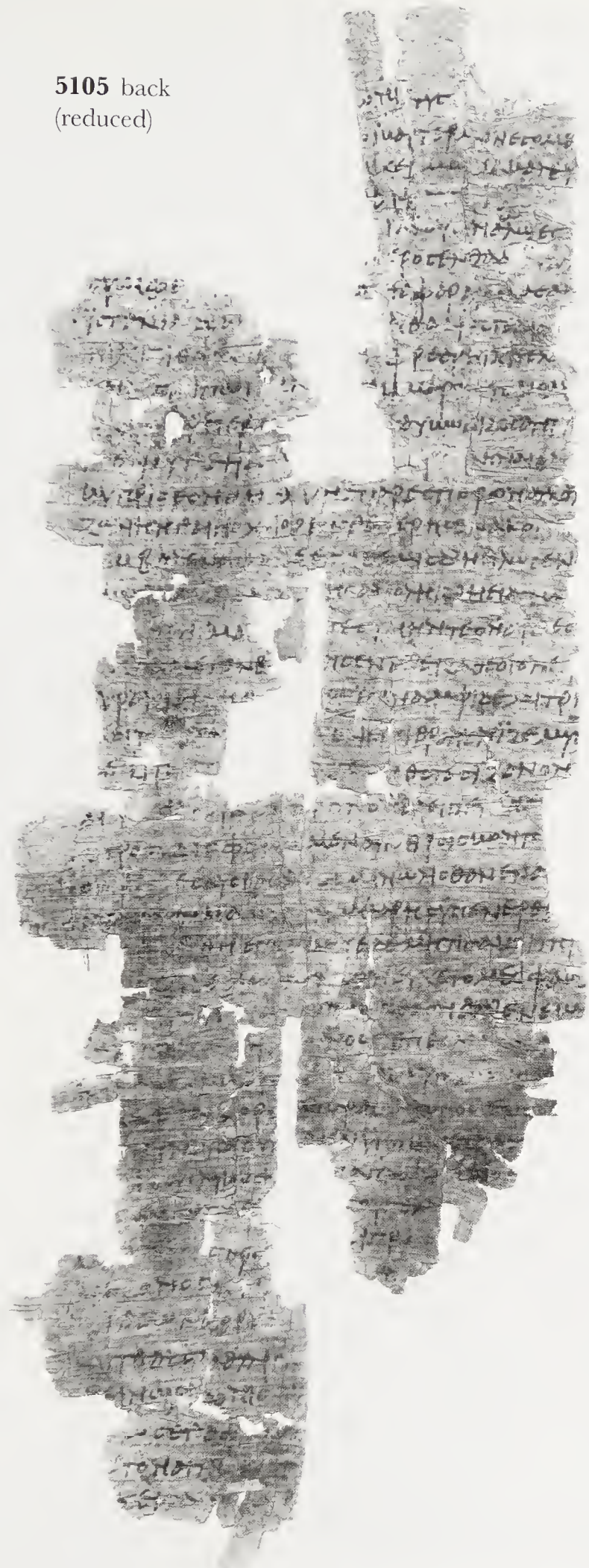


detached
fragment
(21-2)

detached
fragment
(29-32)



5105 back
(reduced)

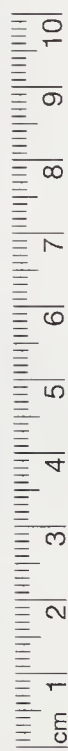


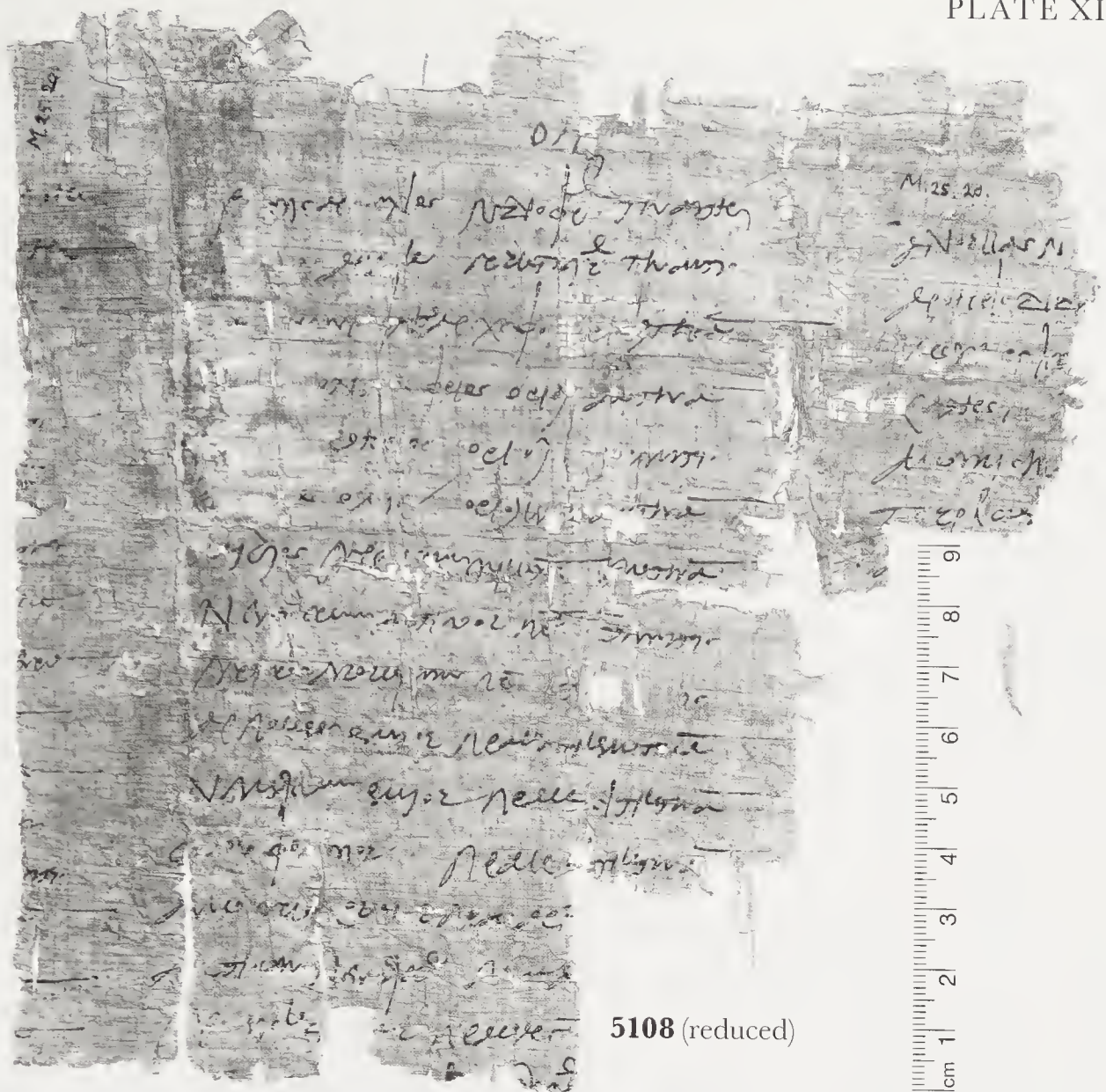
detached
fragment
(70-73)



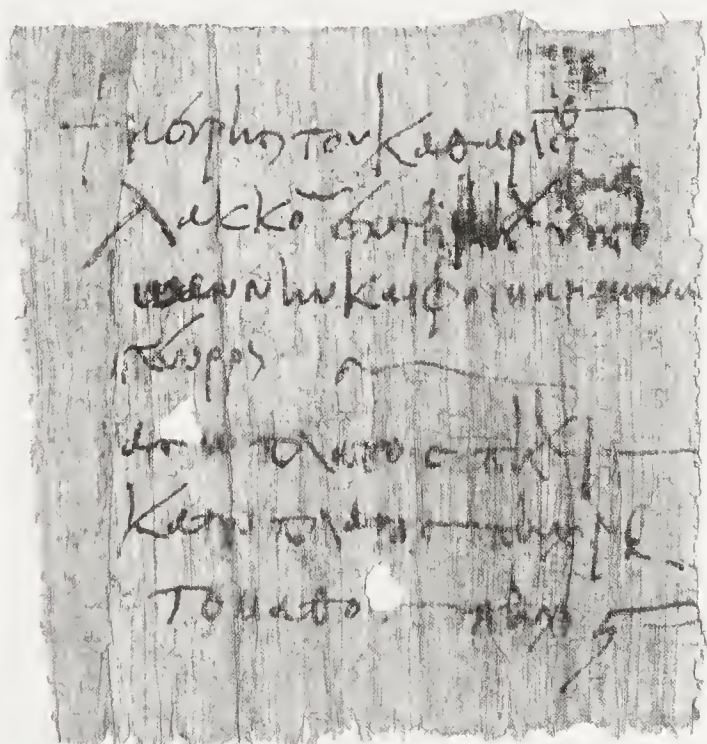
5107 (reduced)

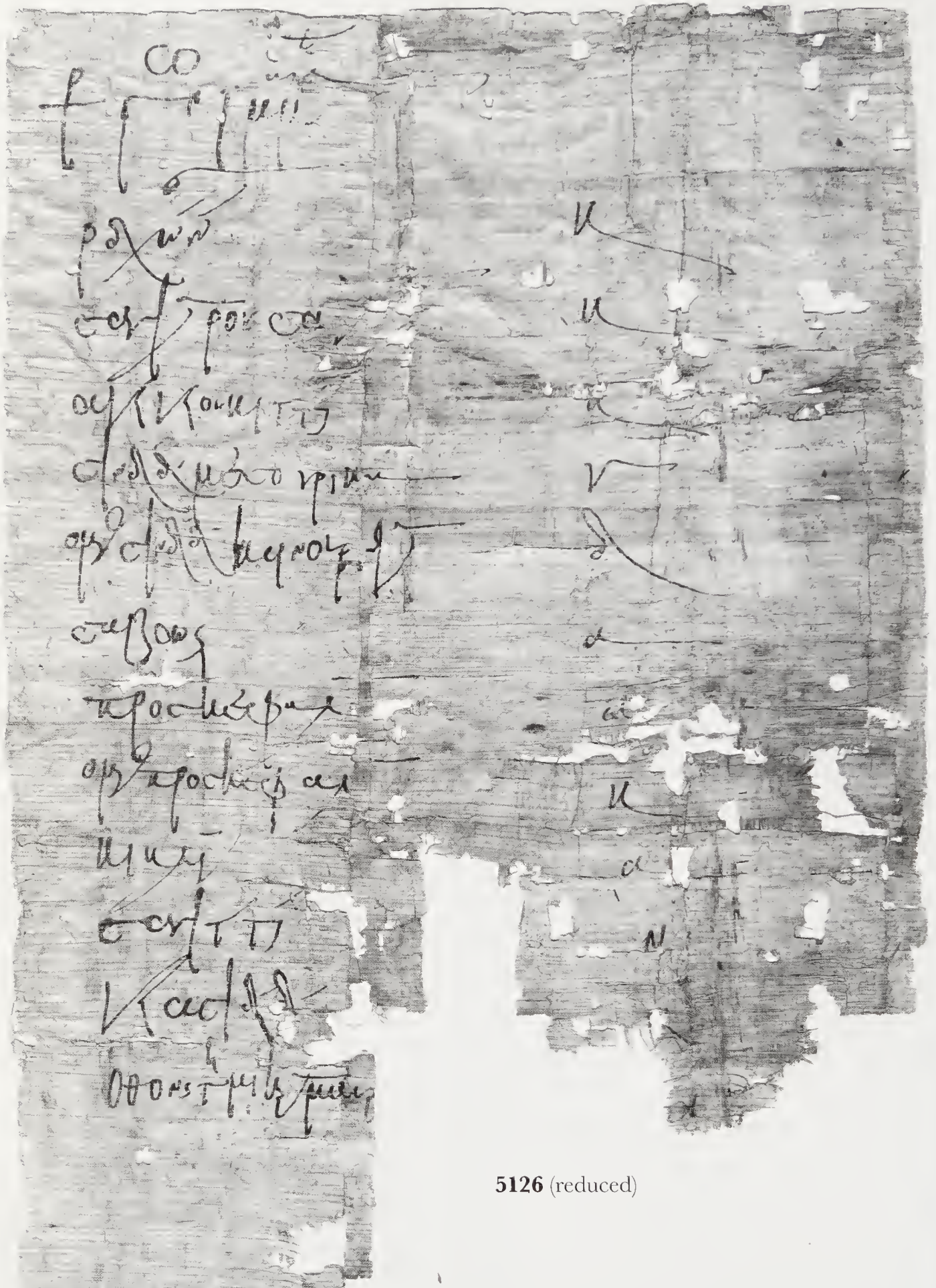
Fragment of an ancient Greek inscription, possibly from a stone tablet, showing several lines of text in a cursive script. The text is significantly damaged and partially obscured by the fragment's irregular shape and surface texture.





5125





5126 (reduced)



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